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224 One of the traits the Amhara shares with the older culture pattern mentioned above is contempt for those who live by hunting; though he is proud to show his prowess against major wild fauna such as the elephant, lion, leopard, rhinoceros ("awraris"), and, of course, human enemies. There is no pride in hunting gazelle and other food animals. They are left to lowland peoples or low-class ethnic groups [563] like the Woyto, who hunt the hippopotamus ("gummarēy") along the gorges of the Blue Nile (and formerly also on Lake Tana).

Hunting, in the mind of the Amhara, is connected with such low-elevation jungle areas as Wolkait, on the northwestern escarpment, where the ecology differs considerable from the highland. Here are thick forest stands, many wild fruits (such as the wild orange), much wild coffee. Cotton is one of the few crops grown there.

Until the reign of the present Emperor, decorations were given to heroes who had killed big game. In fact, up to the end of the 19th century one of the flattering terms of address to the king was "zehun", elephant, considered the king of beasts. (This has since been replaced by the address "Germawi hoy", "Oh Majesty").

224 136 Other game hunted in jungle-forest areas such as Wolkait include:

Greater Kudu ("agazān"), one of the largest antelopes in existence, described by Amhara as having the size and shape of an ox. European hunters have measured it as 60" at shoulder height.

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Table 1. Population estimates of the 12 Ethiopian provinces

Administrative Provinces	Area in square kilometers	Official estimate of population 1954	Ethnic correspondence (author's comments) Language	Religion	Additional remarks
Harrumdar	78,200	1,800,000	Amharic	Coptic	some border Muslim and highland Falashas,
Gojjam	62,900	1,600,000	Amharic	Coptic	some Agau (old Cushitic)speakers
Shoa	78,700	2,100,000	Amharic	Coptic	some Gurage= speakers
Tigre	87,000	1,000,000	Galla, Tigrina;	Coptic	
Wollo	78,700	1,000,000	mostly Galla	Coptic	some Amharic
Wollega	67,200	1,000,000	Galla,Amharic	Coptic	some border Shangalla(negroid, Nilotic-speaking)
Arussi	36,000	1,000,000	Galla	Muslim= "pagan"	
Hararge	404,000	1,600,000	Galla, some Somali	Muslim= "pagan"	some Somali semi-nomad tribes
Illubabor	50,000	1,300,000	Galla, Nilotic old=Cushitic	"pagan"	many border Shangalla & other negroids
Kaffa	49,000	1,200,000	Galla,Nilotic old=Cushitic	"pagan"= Muslim	many border negroes
Gemu-Gofa	39,000	900,000	Sudanese,Galla	"pagan"	border negroids
Sidamo	102,000	1,250,000	old-Cushitic (=Sidamo,=Gallama)	"pagan"	some nomadic border tribes
	1,110,000	15,750,000			
(Eritrea, federated 1952)	119,000	1,100,000	Bedja(Cushitic) Tigre(Semitic)	Muslim Coptic	
			Nilotic		

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On the basis of these figures and interpretations, little over half the population of Ethiopia proper (not including Eritrea) is Coptic and can be regarded as "Abyssinians proper". Also, of the total population of Ethiopia, about 5 million, or 1/3, are native Amharic speakers, and constitute, especially in matters of governmental administration, a sort of upper class. However, there are several qualifications that should be added to these overall conclusions.

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Until the reign of the present emperor, and during much of it, the predominant and typical division of the population was into ethnic groups, and the resulting social hierarchy was largely based on what a particular group had experienced in the wars of Menelik II: whether they were among the victors, or among the vanquished. The upper class status of Amhara, was shared by landlords, chiefs, or governments, once they received conquered territories, and was rivalled only by the other Coptic Abyssinians from Tigrinya-speaking Tigre. In general, the Coptic religion itself constituted upper class membership in the hierarchy, and non-Coptic speakers of sister-languages of Amharic, such as the Gurage, did not share in this status and during that generation remained haulers of water and hewers of wood. The Galla were the largest of the subjected peoples. It mattered little to the Amhara whether the Galla were "pagan" or fully Islamized. The Coptic priesthood did not try to "raise them to Christianity" (in the Amharic phrase).

Each of these ethnic entities had its own hierarchy

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of status and prestige. The Galla had originally been cattle breeders who had taken to horses, had invaded Abyssinia and had settled there in the 16th century A.D. Their famous "gada" age-grading determined much of social status of the individual during his life cycle. Today all Galla prefer the name "Oroma" for their ethnic identity -- the term formerly used for the aristocratic class which had originally done only cattle herding and had despised even skilled labor. The Tumtu class did blacksmithing, housebuilding and weaving; lived scattered; and were more mixed with negroid slaves physically. The next lower, 3rd class, was that of the tanners, who remained "pagans", were not even fully islamized, and are regarded by some scholars as indigenous Africans, with their round conical-roof dwellings reminiscent of negro Africa.[6] The lowest class was that of the hunters who dealt in their own communities under their own chiefs, along streams and lakes.

The Somalis had a material and social organization somewhat similar to the early Galla, physically resembling the latter, they lived as semi-nomads, but bred camels as well as cattle. They still form the islands on the southeastern border of Ethiopia. In the border island below the eastern escarpment live the Danakil, a feared hamitic-speaking desert people, probably of ancient residence, pushed to this ecologically marginal territory by later invaders. Related to them, historically, are peoples on the western border of Ethiopia, living right on the escarpment, the Agaw

[illegible] Bulletin of Studies, 1933, p.19; and Seligman, op. cit.

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speaking people of Quara province who once extended at least as far into the country as Lake Tana. Below the western escarpment live Nilotic and Sudanese-speaking tribes. Perhaps the most negroid group among them are the Shangalla, on the west-southwest[47] who live in hot, moist lowlands. They once had their own African royal hierarchy. But they were preyed upon by Arab slave merchants in the past who stimulated slave raids by their neighbors. They were sold in slavery far and wide to Galla, to Amhara, etc., causing negroid strains in all Ethiopia due to the traditional concubinage. Since the present emperor has stamped out the slave trade in Ethiopia, this process is no longer repeated.

The Cushitic-speaking Wollamo (province of Sidamo) underwent a similar experience. They had their own kings until the time of Menelik II, in the very southern part of the highland. Some of this group were sold into slavery, about the turn of this century. They are dark, slender, non-negroid people with "pagan" worship in tree groves and phallic stone statuary.

Even under Menelik II some of this hierarchy began to change. As empire-builder, he rewarded, with lands and associated status, those subject peoples and chiefs who fought for him in his subsequent wars.

Out of this complex medley, the present ethnic stratification retains much of the old, Amharic-Coptic pattern, with a number of new sub-patterns, which, moreover, differ in emphasis from region to region. The following general ethnic hierarchy can be indicated, at least as it exists

47. Coon: Measuring Ethiopia, 1935, p.73.

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in the minds of most Amhara:

1. The Coptic Abyssinian, on which top level the Amharic-speaker and the Tigrina-speaker are equal except for the added Amhara prestige due to the "Solomonic Dynasty". Both consider themselves "attentām" (of noble bones). Both consider themselves superior to all other groups, notably the "conquered nations", infidels, "laboring classes" and "lower races". Both consider themselves the descendants of the Hadhrami invaders of the late pre-Christian era.

As conquerors, the Amhara believe in their superior toughness. The aphorism says:

"The aged Amhara is (powerful) like bärbärē
the aged Galla is (soft) like butter".

The word Amharā is itself derived from "amari", meaning one who is pleasing, agreeable, beautiful and gracious.

On the other hand, the services rendered by Galla cavalry to Menelik II (e.g. in his victory over the Italians at Aduwa) are well known and admitted. In reward, many of the Galla feudal nobles were permitted to retain in fief 1/4 of their land and its serfs, so that a Galla "Balbat" (landowner) class has arisen and prospered. They are in ostentatious presence at all national festivals in Addis Ababa, notably the annual coronation festival of Haile Selassie, when their young men are seen and heard, jumping with brandished spears or sticks, shouting the loyalty of the "Oromo" to "Addis Ababa" (symbolic for Menelik and Haile Selassie). Among the modern-educated Amhara, and even among many uneducated Amhara of Shoa province, intermarriage with Galla Balbat families is not rare, nowadays, especially if the Galla partner is wealthier than the Amhara, and if the Galla is the bride. This is still resis-

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ted among Amhara of Begemdir (Gondar) who refer, in consequence, to any new, unknown Shoan visitor (clerks, administrative officials) as a "Galla". But Amhara from Gondar will not be ashamed to marry a Coptic girl from Tigre.

2. Conquered peoples who are largely non-Coptic (Muslim, semi-Muslim, "pagan").

Certain distinctions are made within this second group. Full Muslims, especially merchants living in market towns, enjoy a somewhat higher prestige, as a respected minority whose leaders are received by governors and even the emperor. (Haile Selassie in recent years, has gone so far as to build mosques, e.g. in Eritrea for them, something which would have cost an earlier emperor his throne.)

At the feast of Ramadan, Muslim leaders, led by their "Kadi" (ecclesiastic judge) call on the emperor to receive his good wishes. In Harar city, where Arabic is known to some of the local Muslims, they listen to Arabic radio broadcasts from the public loudspeakers outside their coffee houses on the marketplace.

The predominant Muslim rite is Melekite, but the majority of thinly islamized Galla know little about such distinctions.[48]

The Galla are the largest group in this category, but, as mentioned before, an important distinction is made between Balbat-families and others. Furthermore, the Galla of Shoa and Wollo provinces, because of their long association with Amhara, enjoy higher prestige than the Galla of Arussi and

48. Liebesney, H. J. : Literature on the Law of the Middle East. The Middle East Journal, October 1949, pp. 461-9.

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other southern provinces, who are considered more "primitive" in their material culture, and many of whom are "pagan".

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Emperor Haile Selassie has urged the Coptic clergy to "raise to Christianity" even peoples despised as "unworthy" in the old pattern. As a result, peoples like the Agau (incl. the Qemant) who have long been neighbors to the western Amhara, and the laboring Gurage near Addis Ababa, have been converted and occupy status somewhere between level 1. and 2., depending on the wealth they have been able to accumulate by past labors. The Qemants have become favorites of the clergy at Gondar because of their generous donations to the local Coptic churches.

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The people of coffee-rich Jimma, in Kaffa province, enjoy respect within level 2. because they had been left with internal autonomy during the rule of Menelik II; and because they are believed to be a slightly higher physical type than other infidels (they are considered "wammate", people with wrinkles at the corner of the mouth). Perhaps due to their old wealth based on coffee, slave and gold trade, they are envied; but they are regarded as "people of dissolute moral habits" by the Amharas.

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3. Laboring peoples and classes; non-Coptic; despised, in the old patterns of behavior.

This includes all occupational groups that did or do the ironsmithing, leather tanning, skilled or non-skilled manual labor. Among them are the lower classes of the Galla (mentioned before); the non-Coptic Gurage; the Falasha who live in small rural communities in Begemdir province, who do most of the ironsmithing and pottery-making there, and who practice a Mosaic form of Judaism.

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practice a Mosaic form of Judaism.

4. Occupational hunters: lowland border peoples; negroid ex-slaves; all non-Coptic.

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The occupational hunting tribes are considered the most primitive, as pre-agricultural and even pre-pastoral subsisters on the bush, jungle, river gorges and deserts. Among them are the Woyto, the hunters of the Hippopotamus, which is considered by the Coptic clergy especially unclean because of the similarity to the pig. Jungles like Wolkait, in northwest Begemdir, contain such despised and feared hunters, as does the eastern lowland desert of the Danakil (Afar).

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Considered on a somewhat higher level within these groups are the pastoral nomads like the Somali, some of the Borana, and other southern tribes who, when they are better known to settled neighbors, are equated with class 2. When less well known, they are classed not much above hunters, and it does not matter to the Amhara that the pastoral nomads in turn look down on settled peasants.

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The lowest on level four are the ex-slaves, who are referred to as Shanqalla if they look negroid, or the more general "barya", i.e. slave (name of a Sudanese border tribe). Only a very poor person, possibly an outcast, cripple, etc., of the two upper classes would consider marrying a Shanqalla. Nevertheless, because of the aforementioned concubinage with female slaves, there are Shanqalla outcrops among even the Amhara of Gondar. An offspring of such a union not infrequently does marry a Shanqalla woman, after converting her to Coptic Christianity. This is pos-

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sible in modern times, though the conversion is solemnized shamefacedly by the minor clergy and with very little ado. The racial distinctions between "persons of dishonorable ancestry" are expressed in the following Amharic aphorisms:

"(One) of unknown father
(Two) wellaj (i.e. father Amhara, Mother Shanqalla:
(Three) barya (i.e. full-blooded slave);
(Four) gabecha (any half-breed, incl. half-Italian)."

In setting them side by side without distinction, the aphorism warns the hearer to look well into the ancestry of a prospective mate, for he or she may be descended from any of these classifications.

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European foreigners are not included in these classifications, especially if they belong to nationalities of recent contact with Ethiopians. But the Armenians, in contact for many centuries, appear in the upper infidel group (the term "arämani" had the connotation of "idolator, hence Cruel"). Today some of the modern Ethiopian nationalists pretend to despise them as "moneybags", while actually envying their commercial and professional talents. The term "arab" has long meant trader, caravan importer, slave dealer. The term for Protestant, probably of 19th century origin, means "enemy of Mary", because that is what impressed the Coptic Amhara most when the missionaries preached to them at that time. The old term "färänj (Frank), foreigner, is still in use, and in rural spots children will still sometimes run after a foreigner pointing fingers as if he were a strange, hence inferior, animal. But in urban usage, especially in Addis Ababa, the term is now applied officially without any derogatory connotations.

461 often a member of a socially lower ethnic group (see sec-
554 tion B), such an Amhara would become "detribalized", sus-
pected of having learned occult powers (e.g. in smith-
craft), and suspected of being no longer an observant and
563 believing Copt. As a result of his ostracism, he may then
461 very likely marry a girl from the socially lower ethnic
554 group, and his children would be social halfbreeds. If that
ethnic group were Shanqalla (negroid, ex-slave), his chil-
dren would also be racially, as well as socially, mixed, and
be relegated to the servant class. Thus the prediction of
the proverb would have come full cycle. This process can
be observed in Gondar, Addis Ababa, and wherever a market
town develops out of the more conservative, rural milieu.

566 Before the abrogation of the major feudal privileges
463 by the present emperor, the feudal lord could and did put
skilled specialists to work without specific wages or limit
of service. Moreover, the skilled specialist would often
be worse off than the unskilled serf. For while the latter
would at least be permitted, usually, to remain at his place
of origin, the skilled specialists were very often required
to accompany the feudal troops and resettle in an alien
province, cut off from their kinfolk.

Smiths had to produce and repair weapons, masons to
build churches, weavers to make togas and adornments, brew-
ers of honeywine and musician-bards to prepare feasts and
entertainments, etc. The chief quartermaster and "treasurer"
carried the title "bajirond" and was usually a skilled and
trusted master craftsman himself. In reward, he and some
of the other skilled specialists might be allocated new

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622 485 This change has also lightened the burden on the "gabbar", the tenant sharecropper. In the past it was the gabbar who had to supply the "feast" (called "gebber", with ironic truthfulness regarding the provider) for feudal troops on march, in addition to all his other burdens. The cheqa shum was responsible for its collection, for only he knew how much produce, goats, sheep, honey, etc., the peasant had left after the heavy sharecropping rent to the landlord and the "tithe" ("asrat") which is still payable to the central government (formerly to the district feudal lord).

651 There is now a new tax, the "education tax" payable even in rural areas where no government schools exist as yet, and payable in cash only, not in produce as in case of "asrat". This tax, too, is collected by the cheqa shum and delivered to the mislanē who must now issue a receipt and forward the money to the central treasury.

563 361 Ethnic considerations in the location of a hamlet in Amhara territory apply to hamlets of scattered Falashas, ironsmiths who observe Mosaic Judaism, and hamlets of the Fagi, Cushitic-speaking tanners who were "Pagan" but have recently accepted the Coptic faith and the Amharic language. Since their services are required, they are often permitted to rent land on a hill, the other side of which may contain a Coptic Amhara hamlet. Relations between these hamlets, beginning on strictly economic terms, often become as friendly as the difference between religions, low status of skilled smiths and tanners, and old supernatural [622] suspicions permit. In case of such residence, one cheqa shum may have an ethnic variety of hamlets under his domain, and may know far more about their "strange" inhabitants and their customs than the average Amhara.

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463 The rural extended family is also the residential unit, the
596 hamlet, and this principle affects the rural residence of the ethnic specialists: the Faqi tanners occupy their own hamlets, Falasha smiths theirs, and, within each ethnic hamlet, the specialists are related by kinship, usually patrilocal as well as patrilineal.

463 Principle (2) here creates the basis forthe ethnic
563 division of labor. The concern of the Amhara is not the time and effort saved by each group doing a specialized task, it is to retain prestige by not working at a skilled manual task but having social inferiors do it for them. Time is not much concern in this culture, for labor is paid by the job, not the hour. Labor is cheap, and since the material culture is relatively undeveloped technically, the work does not require the close synchronization of modern, western factories. Thus, as long as the primary source of power consists of muscular force and simple technology, the old ethnic division of labor remains satisfactory to the Amhara, and often even to the ethnic specialists whose livelihood is assured.

The Amhara has more confidence that an iron plow-point or pot made by the Falasha is well-made, or that a toga woven by a Muslim will give long wear, than he exhibits if a poor Amhara has learned the crafts and tries to sell him his products. For, he reasons, has not the ethnic workman learned his craft since childhood, from his father, who in turn has practiced and perfected it for countless generations? The Amhara purchaser suspects that a new

463 non-ethnic (Amhara), supplier may have done a slovenly job
563 to pick up some quick money, even if he knew the craft. Moreover, the Amhara is convinced that the craft of the ethnic workman, especially the Falasha, is connected with black magic ("buda"), and therefore strong, though evil; while another Amhara individual who may have persuaded or hired a Falasha to teach him his craft (which occasionally has happed in very recent years), will never be taught the magical power connected with ironsmithing, not even from his own father-in-law if he intermarries into a Falasha family (which is also beginning to happen, in towns). Therefore, the product will not be "strong": if a pot it will break; if a plowpoint it will dull soon.

463 Thus, the ethnic craftsmen retain their patrons, a
563 relationship reinforced also by the personal factor: for
466 the Amhara customer who has established or inherited the habit of trading with a particular Falasha hamlet, where confidence has developed and even personal idiosyncrasies are known, prefers to continue to deal on this personal (or family) basis. This is particularly true since in rural areas the work done is paid for in produce, or in lieu of rent payable by the Falashas for land farmed by them and belonging to the Amhara landholding family. The limitations of this economic, or at best inter-personal relationship are mutually recognized , for neither group would mix socially or intermarry, in the rural district. The boundary line is one of religion as well as occupation and social status. As in most parts of the Middle East, the blacksmith remains an outsider. This is also true of the tanner, in Amhara society.

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000 the tanner, in Amhara society.

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565 The values that dominate the division of labor in Amhara territory are closely connected with social stratification, which has been described. While hunters would be at the bottom of the scale, they do not actually have much share in the economic organization. The ethnic occupation class is in the second or third class from the top, depending on how much change has taken place in the local status of "conquered populations" since the 19th century Amhara victories. Actual ex-slaves, usually negroid, are below this level, usually sharing the same status as hunters. The Coptic Amhara, who is occupationally limited occupies the top class, subdivided into feudal lords and sharecropping peasants, with landholding families in between.

But this is a dividion into classes rather than into castes. For, although occupations tend to be hereditary, and most individuals follow the ethnic specialty of their fathers, they are not under a strict obligation to do so. Emperor Theodore was a usurper of commoner origin, whose mother made a living by gathering bark of the Kosso tree, the lowest occupation of an Amhara. The ethnic classes are more strictly divided by religious identification. In the rural districts there is still no intermarriage between religious or racial groups. In town, persons of the same socio-economic level do intermarry, e.g. "woyto" hippopotamus hunters or ex-hunters, and Shanqalla ex-slaves. Both are likely to work as unskilled servants or laborers, in a town such as Gondar. In general, the class system of Amhara territory is somewhat sharper than in most Middle

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East countries, but it is not the elaborate caste system of India.

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Regional division of labor plays only a small role. When it does occur, as in case of the "burnos"-weaving and carpet-making of spots in Semyen, which survived until recently, it is a case of local survival of a craft that has experienced culture loss, fallen into disuse elsewhere. This is also believed to be true with regard to viticulture which seems to have been lost during the 19th century southeast of Lake Tana. It is the story of ancient Aksum all over again, where a 1700-year old stone cistern is to this day the major water supply and a marvel to the present inhabitants, as are the obelisks, stone steps, etc. Where regional specialization does play some role, it is in a very limited sense. Certain districts of Begemdir province, for example, are more inhabited by Falashas than others, and the iron plowpoints and pottery may be preferred from there, especially in the dry season when travel is possible. The better togas are made by Muslim Ethiopians in suburban Gondar town. Hamlets of tanners are also encountered more often in the vicinity of a town like Gondar. Since so many basic crafts are handed down only in the family system, modern changes de-emphasizing the family economy, plus importation via Italian-built roads, will increasingly cause culture loss, especially in the rural districts. Already the contemptuous reference to "balagar sera" (rustic workmanship) are beginning to heard among urban Amhara (e.g. in connection with the plow and pottery).

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563 B. THE ETHNIC DIVISION OF LABOR.

Division of labor according to the ethnic origin of of the worker is the most distinctly organized division among the Amhara. This is based on the attitude of the [461] Amhara that labor (especially skilled labor and manual labor) is dishonorable. This attitude is reinforced by the close kinship ties which prevent a cultural deviant from shaming the members of his family by working in the district where they are known. It also reinforces the the ethnic boundary lines, and forces the non-Amhara, non-Coptic, working ethnic groups to live within the circle of their own kinfik, religious groups, and hamlets.

[281 191] One of the most despised is the class of the Faqi, the tanners, who speak old-Cushitic languages such as Agau, are considered "pagans" in religion, and are associated by their trade with the hunters, the lowest class.

326 191 On a slightly higher level are the ironsmiths, usually of Falasha, who practice Mosaic Judaism, used to speak Quarinya, an old-Cushitic language, but use the same Semitic Geez language as the Copts in their religious worship and biblical liturgy.

563 463 754 326 [191] This use of Geez by the Falasha is puzzling to the Coptic priests, and brings about a sort of grudging respect for the Falasha, which somewhat elevates their status above that of the tanners. But they are suspected of practicing black magic in connection with their smithing of iron. Patrons take magic precautions to counteract all sorts of magic bewitchment by the Falashas whenever they have contact with them.

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463 They are especially afraid of the "buda", evil eye concept,
754 of which Falashas are believed especially capable; also of
326 their supposed ability to turn themselves into real and magic hyenas at night.

This magic power, however, is believed to make their
323 tools "strong", and the pottery of the Falasha womenfolk "hard to break", so that their wares are preferred by the Amhara, creating a monopoly for Falasha iron tools and pottery wherever Falasha hamlets are within a day's walking distance. In some areas there are itinerant Falasha smiths, whose womenfolk make pottery at the same time. They will live in a special guest hut at the edge of an Amhara hamlet.

463 Weaving is also done by Falashas, but they have no
563 monopoly on it, as Muslim Ethiopian weavers are believed
286 by the Amhara to turn out togas that are just as good. For many centuries Muslims were permitted to reside only in segregated sections of towns, such as "AddisAlämm" of
361 Gondar town. Though this prohibition has been lifted, most Ethiopian Muslims still reside in special quarters of towns, rarely in a rural hamlet on the Amhara plateau. They were not permitted to own land and no one would rent them any.

They see much more of the country trade routes, since it is they who do much of caravan trading, acting as guides, quartermasters and retail traders for Arab coreligionists who are the wholesalers, usually on routes leading to the Sudan, to Eritrea and to Somaliland. The Coptic Amhara consider the Ethiopian Muslims almost as foreign as the Arabs, even the descendants of Amhara who were forcefully

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286 converted to Islam by the invading Mahdi in the late 19th century, some of whom never reconverted to Christianity after the end of the invasion. This latter group speaks Amharic, but the Coptic Amhara refuse to call them Amhara. In turn, the Muslims call the Copts "Kaffir", infidels, which is considered an insult. Though socially segregated, Muslim weavers are often called to make shammas in the back yard of a Coptic Amhara house, returning to their own homes at dusk.

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464 In the province of Shoa, and the southern, non-Amhara provinces, the Amhara conquered much land in the late 19th century, acquiring millions of Galla and other "gabbar", sharecropping peasants with a status somewhat resembling that of medieval European serfs. They still constitute an important category of labor, though they can leave the land if they are willing to abandon everything (which they rarely do). During the reign of the present emperor their lot has improved, and it is the Galla who are at present experiencing the most remarkable mobility in occupation of any group in Ethiopia. The numbers affected by the change are small, but the principle of this mobility cannot be exaggerated. Even Menelik II, conqueror of the Galla, had noticed how easily he could win them over to serve under his military banner, partly because of their in-tribal dissention, partly due to their fierce loyalty to any chief to whom they have sworn allegiance. Today a number are in positions of the central government, and many Galla officials and clerks are sent out to the old Amhara provinces, even to Gondar, to govern and administer their erstwhile conquerors

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463 563 their erstwhile conquerors.

The majority of the Galla are still primitive, dress in skins, use iron spears since they have few rifles, and are "pagan" or slightly islamized, in provinces south of the Amhara provinces. Their participation in the economy is largely agricultural and pastoral, both honorable occupations in the Amhara view. Their low (though rising) social status is due to their conquest, the African living patterns in their home provinces, the difference in religion and in language, but not to their occupation.

The following crafts fall under the ethnic division of labor:

563 323 462 A. Pottery-making

This occupation can also be classed under Division of Labor by Sex, since only women, mostly Falasha women, engage in it. In the provinces where no Falasha women are available, pottery is made by Gurage or by Galla women. The only time a Coptic Amhara woman prepares a rough utensil she fashions an unsymmetrical container out of mud coarsely mixed with straw or cowdung and left to dry in the sun without firing. Compared with that, the pottery made by women of the other ethnic groups, is indeed "professional".

323 But in fact even the best pottery made by the craftswomen must be considered primitive. It belongs to the category referred to by archeologists in other areas as "women home industry". The firing is of the "first level", i.e. below 600° Centigrade. No potter's wheel is used. Glazing and waterproofing are minimal and primitive; only

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411 A safer version of the throwing spear, with dull or no point, is used by the young men during their mock battle and chase at the "gänna" feast (Christmas).

326 435 The economic aspects of smithcraft could provide the smith with considerable income, since the Amhara peasants are in regular need, and since the Falasha smiths have a monopoly due to the suspicions of the magic correlation which keep Amhara from the craft. But in fact the income is not large. A team of rural smiths, 5 men, receive only Eth$1.50 for their labor in making a plowpoint, if the customer brings his own scrap, double that if the smiths have to supply it. The somewhat bigger "summer plow" costs somewhat more. The customer usually waits in a special hut of the hamlet of the smiths, and must be provided with grain and other necessities, meanwhile. Thus, while an individual smith may earn as much as Eth$400.- from his craft in a year, the additional food bill may be Eth$300.-, and most of the earnings will go to pay the rent on his land, of which he farms less than the average peasant.

Even a well-made plowpoint dulls after about 10 years. Then it is brought back and the smith cuts it down to an axe ("mäterabiya") for only 50¢ Eth. When that dulls, he cuts it down further to a slightly smaller adze ("mäqofariya") for half that sum.

326 563 The human organization of smithcraft, particularly in the Amhara area where the Falasha are the smiths, presents peculiar problems and patterns. Where no Falasha hamlets are near, the smithing is done by itinerant Fa-

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326 lasha smiths, whose women make pottery at the same time.
563 This arrangement is not liked by the Falasha because of their religious obligations, even though they reside in a special guest hut, slaughter their own sheep and use their own utensils while at work for a distant Amhara hamlet. For they rest on Saturday, work on Sunday, and the more traditional among them have to undergo elaborate purification ceremonies upon their return home.

[783]

This alternate, itinerant pattern probably developed during recent centuries when feudal warlords forced them to accompany their troops as ordnance, at any time, often during their entire lifetimes. This continued as late as the 1920's, when Ras Gugsa still ruled the province of Begemdir (Gondar). Since Menelik's conquest of distant Galla lands, in the late 19th century, Falasha smiths have been carried off farther than ever, and sometimes never again seen by their families. Ras Gugsa wanted to please Menelik in his Amharization program in the south, and ordered Coptic churches built by the Falashas in "pagan" or Muslim Galla areas, when their wartime duties were largely over. Some were given Shanqalla females to replace their own distant families. A few rose to the position of "bajirond" (treasurer) and were given land property in lieu of salary. Thus an exception was made for these individuals, for Falashas were not permitted to purchase land, on condition that their offspring carry on the same services in the feudal armies. Now that these services have been abrogated, there are still a few land-holding Falasha families, the descendants of army-ordnance Falasha smiths.

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326 563 [445] Another difficulty is that the Falasha, observing Sabbath on Saturday when the big markets are in operation, cannot market any surplus of iron products directly, even if they wanted to, and must use a middleman, usually a Muslim, who absorbs any extra profit that might accrue in town. Thus the economic significance of their craft remains entirely in the old pattern, and is not developing in a modern direction, which it might have as a result of recent Western contact, stimulation and tools. The Falasha are recasting every part of their own rifles except the barrel, and their womenfolk have attempted to make glass out of sand (with little success) and modern Yemenite clay incense burners (with more success).

C. Carpentry.

322 Carpentry has already been characterized as minimal, incidental, merely semi-occupational among the Amhara, and as a tangential task of the ironsmith toolmaker. At best, the carpenter ("tarabi") is a part-time specialist.

The riflestock, of wanza wood, made by the ironsmith, often leads to his being asked to do other special woodwork, e.g. saddlemaking. If he becomes proficient in it, he may do nothing else during part of the year, and then send the finished, wooden saddle to the faqi tanners for a leather cover. For his own labor he may charge as much as Eth$8.- a better profit than that achieved by the average ironsmith. Wanza wood (Cordia abyssinica) is also used for the legs of the "alga" bed, so that the

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322 saddlemaker is usually an expert at lumbering. A well-made "korecha", wooden, skin-covered saddle, with adornements, made to order, may cost a total of Eth$25.-

D. Tanning

281 The consumption of leather articles among the Amhara is tremendous for a settled agricultural people. It is reminiscent of Hamitic-speaking tribes whose ecology is based on animal husbandry, and the technology of tanning and manufacture of leather articles is linked with that of North Africa. The ethnic group that does this specialized work in Amhara territory, the Faqi, were Cushitic (Hamitic) - speaking, and probably constitute an early group in residence in Ethiopia. Products consumed include cooking utensils especially for travelling, riding equipment, scabbards, shields, and formerly skin clothing (now worn only by itinerant monks).

281 563 797 The Faqi live in scattered hamlets of their own, the size of which is usually like the smaller Amhara ones: patrilocal residence, 5 to 6 huts at most, each occupied by a biological family. Until very recently, none of them were Coptic Christians since the Coptic priesthood considered these "pagans" on the same level as occupational hunters, too low to be "raised to Christianity". They spoke old-Cushitic languages such as Qemant and other Agau tongues, and gathered in remote tree-groves on top of hills for occasional religous worship similar to that of the "pagan" Galla. Now most of them speak or at least understand Amharic, and since 1942 some have become con-

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281 verted to Christianity due to the influence of the Emperor's
•563 wishes. Socially they are now considered on a level above
[797] the hunters, and, after adopting Christianity almost on a level with other non-ethnic craftsmen. Though largely endogamous within their own Faqi class, they used to take half-Shanqalla wives, or "woyto" (hippopotamus hunters), but near urban places such as Gondar they now marry poor Amhara of doubtful ancestry, after having become Christians. They are still considered "rustic" by the Amhara townsmen, since the Faqi, like the Falasha, do not like to live in town, to avoid negative human relations and insults based on their occupation ("You Faqi").

The Faqi do not like to be called by that name and prefer the term "arabannya", which has a connotation of someone skilled in something imported, of prestigeful origin. This is perhaps well-founded for some of their finer products resemble morocco leather.

The Faqi farm little, less than the Falasha, but keep kitchen gardens. They usually do not own land- unless a family acquired some as a reward for ordnance services rendered accompanying the troops of Menelik II. The cash obtained from their products goes largely to pay rent
[231] for the land, similar to the Falasha. The Faqi try to keep as much cattle as they can afford, for the skins are valuable to them, and cow's urine is used in the process of tanning.

The basic team need not exceed three ablebodied, experienced tanners, but there are numerous little jobs for boys and older men.

E. Weaving

286 Most weaving is of cotton (Gossypium arboreum), grown in the lowlands of Ethiopia. It is of shorter staple but stronger than the Egyptian, imported from the Sudan.

286 563 [462] Weaving is man's work, and in Amhara territory is an "ethnic occupation" carried out either by Falashas or by Muslim Ethiopians. Emperor Menelik II tried to change this by encouraging Amhara men to take part in this basic and increasingly necessary activity, not only for the traditional shamma, but also for the spreading use of "qāmīs" shirt and jodphur trousers. But he had little success with it. Only very poor, "detribalized" Amhara (who have intermarried with socially lower ethnic groups) weave shamma togas, and cotton sheeting imports have increased steadily since Menelik II for other garments. One can therefore state that weaving remains an ethnic occupation.

286 There are two basic types of materials for shammas woven on the traditional handloom. The more prevalent is the peasant-type, thick, warm, soft, tight-knit and sturdy, heavy material, that will last long; the other is thinly woven, almost like a muslin, and is preferred in towns, especially by the women who use it like a long shawl above a long dress. The latter type is more richly embroidered at the narrow borders.

When the housewife has cleaned, carded, spun and rolled the cotton thread for the warp on a warping reel,

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286 554 weaver's occupation. If the weaver were to become a Copt and live among Copts, he would be on a social level equal to a poor, laboring Amhara.

C. Semi-specialized and unskilled.

463 563 The present division of labor is still based on the former feudal structure of the Amhara economy and human organization. Specialized skills are left to other ethnic groups, and, apart from non-ignoble occupations such as war, church, agriculture, healing, the Amhara reserve to themselves semi-specialized occupations and part-time labor traditionally carried out by household retainers.

The latter type of labor, dealt with in this section, can be roughly divided into three categories: (1) labor arising out of the feudal lord-peasant relationship; (2) semi-specialization "that anyone can learn", in the attitude of the Coptic Amhara; (3) temporary labor, [465] for which specified wages based on Time and Energy are agreed upon, called "damoz" (a contraction of "dämä-wäs", lit. "blood-and sweat" compensation). This term is even used for temporary marriage, during which the woman acts as cook and travelling companion.

466 [566] The first category arises out of the obligations owed by the sharecropping "gabbar" to his feudal lord or landowning church: the former statute labor, when everyone would come with his own tools and construct a

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443 177 salers, and other Muslim retailers. Here they discuss caravan trade, import and export, and local business. These Arabs speak enough Amharic for their purposes, but cannot read or write it, so that they employ temporary services of Amhara clerks, graduates or upper classmen of elementary schools, to translate and write documents relating to transactions, taxes and loans. It is these Arab traders who constitute most of the customers of provincial branches of the new State Bank of Ethiopia. Only rarely does a foreign company like Besse have a local branch, operated by East Indian managers. This is recent, while the Arab traders are the successors of former Arab slavetraders, an ancient but now abolished occupation in Ethiopia. Arab traders also serve as personal bankers to Amhara.

The broker, "mäden", may be an Amhara. This is especially true if he is the aforementioned labor broker. He acts as negotiator for business transactions, and (e.g. in the sale of major livestock) personally guarantees that the object sold was not stolen; he is required to make good the loss if it is not so. This is an important form of insurance, for which the broker may charge as little as 1%, payable usually in cash; he is also given a barley beer dinner after the transaction. He, in turn, may employ Amhara loiterers to gather around during transactions and contribute their wit to urge the buyer to close the deal.

563 443 554 The Muslim Ethiopian retailer, unlike the Arab trader, carries little prestige among Amhara. His com-

563 443 554 parative wealth may be envied, but his religion, and his habit of taking several wives from ex-slave (Barya), Sudanese, lowland females, places him on a level with the upper ethnic craftsmen class. The fact that his labor is not manual elevates him a bit. The full Arab from Yemen or Arabia is regarded as a foreigner, and there is little concern about him since he does not participate in the social hierarchy of the Coptic Amhara.

436 Silver coinage for major transactions, until recently, was the Maria Theresa Thaler, bearing the year 1780, even if coined much later, imported, and sometimes referred to as "machedo", sickle. The recent laws of the present emperor provide for confiscation and punishment for possession of this now illegal currency, but peasants and townsmen have them hidden and silversmiths can still obtain them with little difficulty. The habit of burying coins for safekeeping has carried over to modern paper money. Every year cases of buried paper money that decayed in the rainy season become the talk of the town. The former MT Thaler was divided as follows:

1 MT Thaler = 16" temun" silver coins of Menelik; the term "temun" is now used for silver ornaments, though the new Ethiopian 25¢ piece is actually used in exchange, or even in ornaments.

= 16 "gresh", the Egyptian-Turkish piastre coined in 1899, no longer used, and rarely seen.

423 by claiming that the ethnics have unstated income
651
563 from their handicrafts. Among the methods of this extortion is the "initiation fee" of as much as Eth$3.- per qada, when freshly cleared from the bush. Another impressment consists of "voluntary" supplies regularly paid to the Coptic parish church in the locality, by non-Coptic ethnics. Also, the feudal landlord usually asks them for a special "pasturage fee"--as much as Eth$2.- per qada of fallow land--with the further condition that no more than two oxen (or cows) graze on each qada. Where a Coptic farmer may pay perhaps Eth$10.- tithe on his semi-fertile 50 qada, the non-Coptic farmer may be made to pay double to four times that for similar produce on an equivalent plot of land. While
[871] the new education tax is the same, the non-Coptic artisan finds it very difficult to enroll his boy in the overcrowded elementary school in the provincial capital.

423 The average "rest"-owning farmer working 10 qada
651 every year, may harvest about 50 madiga of tyeff grain,
511 selling it for Eth$150.-(In the rainy season it would bring twice that); plus 30 madiga barley, Eth$60.- plus some honey, if he has it.

If the tax-collector is his friend, his tithe may amount to as little as Eth$5 to 10, his education tax Eth$2 to 4. His land tax based on the rate of 1927 will be very low, and his pasturage, as Coptic non-artisan, free.

511 Thus he has enough for his basic needs including the purchase of a new toga (shamma) per year, and perhaps a new donkey. However, he cannot normally afford

633 the old Portuguese-type castles, even then in ruins.
[346] The new mosque, built through Italian encouragement during the occupation, overshadows both the big market and the old Muslim "ghetto" with the old mosque, at lower elevation.

563 624 The local Muslim "Qadi", ecclesiastical Muslim judge, regarded as their procvincial temporal chief, calls on the governor-general every Tuesday. Most Muslims have not moved far from their old section, partly because it is near the big market which is their economic as well as social gathering place, partly because they, almost as much as the ethnic artisans, wish to avoid insults, mockery, and quarrels with young members of the dominant majority.

759 743 In addition to being a center of public announcements, and the table of the judge for petty crimes, the market now also serves as center for the activities of modern "dressers". These medical auxiliaries set up their tables under one of the shady trees, their bottles, hypodermic needles, cotton wool, etc., clearly visible, with chairs for several patients, set apart by an enclosure of barbed wire. When an epidemic threatens, and [731] during and after it (e.g. typhus or spotted fever), the public can obtain free injections there, or call a dresser to come to their home for a small fee.

633 Each town is divided into administrative wards, sometimes called "qäbälē", but almost invariably named after the church located in it. Thus a person will say "I am from Medhanē Alam" (church of the "Savior of the

642 the lower indirectly appointed. No elections have been held; they have been postponed to the day when "education shall have been increased". In actual practice the monarchy thus remains absolute in function, and even legislation that is not directly urged by the emperor requires his signature and cannot be overridden.

563 (d) A problem of law that did not concern the old Amhara legislative authorities but that has become, though still dormant and in abeyance, a problem in recent years, is that of juridicial privileges of sectarian minorities, particularly Ethiopian Muslims.

In the past, Muslims lived there much as they did under the "Millet" system of Ottoman Turks, i.e. under their own religious jurisdiction in all internal affairs such as personal status, inheritance, marriage, divorce, endowments, etc. In Amhara areas, the Muslim ecclesiastical judge, the "Qadi" performs the functions of the "chega shum" and the "atbiya danya" judge for the Muslim population of his sector. He also heads their own school system of Quran schools, much as the Coptic priests head the local church schools.

563 692 There was no central Muslim organization, beyond this local structure. As part of modern centralization, the present emperor issued the "Qadi's Court Proclamation" in 1942 and 1944. It created a "Naibas" Council in Addis Ababa, to function as a traditional Muslim "Sharia" Court of Appeals above the local decisions of the Qadis. This structure, in turn, is supervised by the (Coptic) Minister of Justice of the central govern-

563 692 ment, who approves appointment to Sharia and Qadi positions.

5. Structure and Function of the Coptic Church among the Amhara.

795 The importance of the Coptic Church of Abyssinia on the life of every Amhara, of all classes, rural or urban, can hardly be exaggerated. To the Amhara, "Amhara" is synonymous with Abyssinian Christian; and the [198] liturgical language used in the church, "Geez", with "language of the free". The term used for their religion is "täwahedo", often shortened to "towado", meaning "orthodox".

To the Amhara, his church is so closely connected with his attitudes to his country, his nation, his ethnocentrism, that the severance of ties with the mother Coptic Church of Alexandria, in 1948, passed almost [779] unnoticed. Only church scholars are aware that, as part of the larger Coptic church, the break with the Western church occurred after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D., ostensibly because the Copts insisted on complete fusion of the person of Christ, refusing to accept the "union, but not fusion of Deity and human spirit" of the non-Monophysite faith in the formula he pronounces when [788] slaughtering a sheep or ox: "In the name of the father, [224] the son, and the holy ghost, one divinity." The pious hunter will hasten to the wounded gazelle to pronounce the formula before the animal expires, then finish it off by cutting its throat

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565 racially enslaved groups; there was, and to a consider-
184 able degree there still is, a cultural continuum among
563 Coptic Amhara that is shared by all classes, (with the partial exception of ethnic and racially-separated groups).

A. Class Stratification.

a) Regional Distinction and Feudal Nobility.

Regional distinctions are emphasized by both nobles and peasants. The nobles from the old-Amhara districts of Amara Saynt, Mänz (both in Shoa province) and of the later developed Gondar district (Gegemdir province) c nsider themselves an upper-upper class even among nobility. At least part of this status is ascribed not only to a local history of "old-nobility" contrast with "new-nobility", but totthe supposed fact that these districts were the only Amhara districts not overrun by the Galla in the 16th century.

The class of nobility is controlled, but also perpetuated, by the emperor. In every generation he gradually raises the young nobles to the rank of their fathers, as each individual advances in age. Usually it is only when the father dies that the son is appointed to full rank. He is not usually raised above it except for unusual service to the emperor. Com oners may be given modest ranks in nobility for special service, thus entering, as "new-nobility", upon the social ladder.

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565 ("chäwa") of Amhara ancestry ("attentam"); and the "gabbär" sharecropper on feudal land, who is regarded as of doubtful ancestry (part-slave, or part-Galla ethnic), who is referred to as "rustic" ("balagär). While the former, usually descended from warriors who were given land many generations ago, considers himself inferior only to nobility and higher church officials, the latter occupies the broad bottom base of the Amhara social pyramid. The proverb says of the rustic "gabbar":

[539] "He who honors a gabbar
will be despised by him ".

In fact there are not many who might honor a gabbar, except for some ethnic laborers and ex-slaves, both of whom occupy somewhat of an outcast position.

c) The Ethnic Classes

563 463 565 The ethnic skilled-labor class does not usually consider itself inferior to the gabbar class. This is especially true if the particular ethnic group has a non-material culture or subculture of its own, notably the Falashas who observe Mosaic Judaism.

The factor of fear of a skilled occupation, the practitioners of which are called "täbib" (lit. "knowing one ", i.e to whom secrets are revealed), enters into the class stratification. It attaches an aura of untouchability to certain occupational classes, especially if reinforced by ethnic or religious difference. 563 326 754 This combination of factors applies to the smithcraft, the "kayla", who are suspected of witchcraft, of being

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754 able to turn themselves into "buda" hyenas, and of having learned their craft from the "buda" evil spirit. Since the smiths in the old-Amhara areas are mostly Falashas, whose formal religious worship is never observed by Coptic Amhara, the Falasha smith is feared and [412] suspected of black magic. At the same time, the iron tools produced by the Falasha are much prized, not only on account of their material utility but on account of their supposed supernatural strength, endurance and "secretly revealed" workmanship. Even today, the provincial peasant will insist on obtaining his plowpoint or adze from a "real" Falasha.

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326 The Falashas practice endogamy, as do the Coptic Amhara. But in the towns where increased contact occasionally begins to attenuate the old rules, individuals of low prestige in both groups do sometimes marry, which [797] usually results in the conversion of the Falasha partner to the majority religion. Also due to modern contact, it is beginning to happen that a Falasha teaches his craft to a non-Falasha, but the peasants often reject the output of the latter on the grounds that it isn't a "really strong, genuine Falasha article".

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281 Somewhat similar untouchability attaches to the tanners, who are usually of local pre-Amharic, (Cushitic, e.g. Agau) descent, often still speak their ancient tongues, and until recently were never converted to Coptic Christianity. As traditionally "conquered" peoples, they are not "attentam", and Amhara endogamous rules prevail against them. The stigma against them seems to

583 rest not on any supposed supernatural powers of their
281 craft, but on theoccupation which requires them to deal with carcasses regularly, and places them in a class with the "Moyto" hippopotamus hunters of Lake Tana. However, the tanned skins produced by these "Faqi" tanners, prepared through a primitve version of making "morocco" leather, ismuch appreciated as "best workmanship" by the rural as well as town Amhara.

Like the Falasha, the "Faqi" live in hamlets of their own, usually within half a day's waling distance of a big market. They are regarded by Amhara as pagans; they gather under large trees in remote areas for their nature worship on several occasions each year. In very recent years, the urgings from the emperor and the example of Protestant missionaries have stimulated the Coptic clergy to admit them to Christianity, but, as [197] in the case of converted Falasha, the social stigma remains attached to the convert, even if he changes his occupation. Socially he is then worse off than before, for as an outcast from his own group he feels the barbs of social discrimination more than ever. In the past, the "Faqi", like the "Falasha" did not concern themselves much about this stigma, but now the "Faqi" insist on the polite address "arabeñña" --which refers to the tanner workmanship (lit. the one who creates Arab-like, i.e. imported luxury, articles.).

[463] Occupations that can be readily learned by anyone, or that require talent rather than skill, do not connote
533 low class. A musician, "azmari", male or female, who may or may not play an instrument for accompaniment, is

[533] usually a Coptic Amhara, of more talent than skill.
286 The weaver, "shamani", though usually a Ethiopian Muslim (or Falasha), carries on his work in theopen, and anyone may learn it. It is only because it requires consistent manual labor that most Amhara shun,it.

d) Religious Minority.

794 The foremost religious minority in Amhara provinces is that of the Ethiopian Muslims. Most of them live in towns, and in the past were residentially segregated to the older parts of town, near caravan trails andbig markets. Even today, their social associations are almost exclusively with other Muslims, e.g. traders from the Sudan. Both are regarded as low-class not only by the Amhara but also by the handful of Arab wholesale traders from Yemen. As a result, negroid and amei-negroid ex-
[797] slaves (Shanqalla), especidly women, often become converted to Islam in order to marry Ethiopian Muslims or Sudanese, who, as retail traders, are economically better off. The Muslim veneer of these women is very thin, and they are among the most ardent followers of the "Zar" cult.

e) Racial Minority

563 Shanqalla slaves were, [redacted], entirely below
567 the social scale, and treated as a separate caste. They were brought or purchased from the Shanqalla, negroid, peoples on the southwest escarpment, or from Nilotic

563 "Barya" people below the northwest escarpment, so that
567 both terms became synonymous with "slave". Because of the negroid features of the former, and the very black skin of both, they had high visibility, and did not have to be guarded closely as they could hardly escape. In view of the widespread illiteracy, manumission was almost never practiced, and such a document would be ignored by a slave trader or any Amhara who wanted to re-enslave a manumitted Shanqalla or Barya. Until slave-trading was prohibited by the present emperor, negroid slaves were still brought from the Gumuz tribe of Quara sub-province, just below the western, old-
[588] Amhara escarpment. But concubinage was so widespread that today there are more half-Shanqalla than full-blooded ex-slaves. Freed only since 1942, little change has so far taken place in their social status. In rural areas most remain with their old masters as
[464] servants or sharecroppers. In towns, they form a pool ofunskilled labor, employed only briefly from time to time, subsisting on very little, residing in the oldest parts of theold Muslim ghetto. Some of their women have
[357] managed to raise their economic status by becoming house-maids, especially serving the women on the "street of unattached girls", or by marrying ploygynous Muslims.

563 The Coptic church had not interested itself in
567 the status of slaves, for according to its rules a
797 Christian could not be kept in slavery, and therefore no attempt was made to convert Shanqalla or Barya slaves.

563 The racial objection to "raising them to Christinaity"
567 (as it was called) was expressed on the principal of
797 "atteNtam" (of good, i.e. Amhara or Tigre physical stock). These objections still hold, but ex-slaves attached as servants to a Coptic Amhara household are now more often "raised to Christianity" if they desire it, and can then legally marry other Coptic Christians, which, however, is rare, in practice.

567 Plantation slavery was never widespread, except in the lowland, "kazäga" district of Wolqait sub-province, where cotton and vegetables were raised on a relatively larger scale and most plateau landowners, especially feudal ones, preferred the plentiful "gabbar" services and well-established arrangements. The "gabbar" were rooted to the soil and had more to lose by leaving their birthplace than slaves would have.

The legal position of slaves, who were almost always non-Christianized gave them no protection. They were legal persons, and could not, in theory, own property, nor contract debts. In practice, some occasionally did manage to accumulate some small cattle and raise their local economic level through interpersonal contact. Slave concubines and the children they bore were usually kept in the household like family retainers, or at most given to another kinsman or to a newlywed couple, within the kin group.

557 565 f) The Servant Class and Economic Considerations

The servant class, "ashkär", is employed in the

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872 easier, in practice, to gain admittance. The efforts of the em-
565 peror to give opportunities to the rural sons of poor orphans of soldiers who died fighting for their country, by opening boarding houses for them, attached to elementary schools, were defeated by the provincial feudal lords and townspeople, who managed to have their sons quartered in them instead.

Thus, traditional social stratification, both class and ethnic, affects even the modern elementary schools. In 1952 about 60,000 children, 10% girls, attended modern elementary schools in Ethiopia, [563] and far more than half this number was Amhara. Ethnic minority groups find it very hard to have their children admitted, because the school administrators are usually Amhara. Thus, the Qemants of Gondar, for example, have found it easier to enroll their sons in the Catholic mission school operated there by Tigrean(Eritrean) priests. Other ethnic minorities have enrolled children in 7th Day Adventist and other mission schools.

871 In Addis Ababa itself the situation is quite different, however,
184 Here, traditional social stratification has far less effect, partly
565 because of the closer supervision by more modern officials of the central government, partly because the teachers in the high schools, and even in part in the elementary schools, are Europeans or Americans who emphasise social equality among students, pay no attention to family nobility, and reward only merit. Here, the son of the illiterate peasant, or occasionally even ex-slave negroid Shanqalla, may sit next to the son of an Amhara duke or a Galla "balbat". After graduation, they may be sent abroad for college or post-graduate training, based on merit, regardless of parental rank; though in social and family life the traditional social cleavages

pre[illegible]

159 754 not find him. They vowed to waylay him some night and beat him bloody, but bystanders felt that they would cool their tempers and perhaps try to get the merchant into trouble with the local police by planting stolen goods on him - a common procedure, in the towns.

Later the same day, the Arab merchant was conducting business as usual. The rumor did not seem to have hurt him, but local grapevine had it that husbands would restrain their wives from shopping there, though they would risk sending servants. Abdulla had nothing devilish about him, except the distinguishing mark of the capped incisors. He was medium-sized, slender, calm, without any stare that might have frightened the woman. His goods were the usual town goods, ranging from imported eyeglasses to notebooks for school children, and cheap beads.

By this time the woman patient was seated on the dirt floor of her house, looking tired, worn out and dejected. She had no longer a headache, of which she had complained, but claimed to have "heartache" and swelling of the left breast. A neighboring woman was brewing coffee. Her husband's brother, who was also present, [124] asked my advice. I gave him some aspirin for her. She forgot her apathy for a moment and gratefully and politely nodded. Later she refused to take that strange medicine of the foreigner.

d. Ethnic Caste under Suspicion of Sorcery

754 563 The Falasha ethno-religious group has been described in connection with the division of labor, for they are the ironsmiths and potters in the Amhara regions, especially in the province of Begemdir (Gondar).

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563 The Amhara belief in buda has been very troublesome for the Falashas, for they are believed to have inherited the practice of sorcery from their fathers along with the craft of ironsmithing. Thus, the Falashas are blamed for individual cases of magical "eating" as well as for epidemics. Such accusations have repeatedly led to "sorcerer-killings". When an Amhara patient dreams that a certain Falasha is "eating" him, he sometimes gathers his kinfolk for a sudden attack on a Falasha hamlet, demanding that the particular "sorcerer" be handed over to them. In 1936, when the country was in turmoil following the Italian invasion, Falashas of one district were so plagued by buda persecutions that they evacuated their hamlets there and moved closer to the town of Gondar, though keeping a half day's distance from the town itself in line with their tradition of self-segregation(based on their religious particularism). Even now Falashas in their hamlets keep loaded rifles handy all night.

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563 What happens when a non-Falasha learns the trade of ironsmithing, e.g. a Gurage, which happens near Addis Ababa where no Falasha hamlets exist? He dies not become a "kayla" (ironsmith; this term is considered insulting); he is not regarded as a potential buda, because he has not inherited the trade. But, his handiwork is suspect as "unprofessional"! It is called "yärägä sera" (work of a "räga", unprofessional), which indicates that his customers are likely to hold a low opinion of the quality of his product and the endurance of his tools in those areas where Falasha-made articles are readily available. The latter is not true where no Falasha hamlets exist, so that Gurage work is appreciated near Addis Ababa.

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What happens when a Falasha gives up his Judaic religion and converts to Christianity? Does that free him from being suspected of buda? Only to a slight degree, for his Amhara neighbors refuse to forget his ancestry. In case of conversion, the Falasha becomes an outcast from his own people and usually moves to town. Only an ex-slave or a very poor Coptic woman will marry him. In the latter case, his in-laws believe that his kinship ties are still stronger than his new religion. Thus, if they have him teach them his ironsmithing trade, they believe he will not teach it properly to his affinal relatives. He can never become deacon or priest.

The buda-ironsmithing syndrome of the kayla seems based, in the Amhara mind, on the idea that a very strong power, namely the evil eye spirit, is necessary to accomplish sound work in ironsmithing. To remain powerful, the buda-ironsmith is regarded by the Amhara as requiring blood from time to time, otherwise his product, the iron plowpoint, will not stand wear and tear and the spear will break.

What happens to a Falasha who gives up his kayla trade? The stigma will remain on him, where his family is known. Therefore, some Falashas have migrated and tried to change their trade. This avoidance has not helped at all as long as they remain Falasha in religion. Those who have taken the step of conversion (e.g. as result of Protestant missionary activity in the lat 19th century) are still whispered about as Falashas by their Amhara neighbors and their social and marital associations are largely limited to other ex-Falasha, ex-ironsmith people. Assimilation has not solved the problem of ridding themselves of buda suspicion by the Coptic Amhara, though it has reduced direct, individual accusations of sorcery.

578 In the new courts established by the central government in
689 the provincial towns, the term "kayla" is regarded as an insult and can be prosecuted legally. The proper, legal term is "seratanna" (lit. workman).

326 How can one explain this strong syndrome: ironsmith - buda -
754 Falasha, which still dominates the Amhara mind? It is interesting
563 that silversmiths are less feared than ironsmiths, are more respected and (perhaps in psychological consequence) are regarded as less hateful and vengeful; (they are also less feared for they work indoors, where they can "see" less). Furthermore, although Falashas in their own society are not ashamed of their ironsmith trade, the Amhara project their own despising of this manual craft onto the Falashas and believe that Falasha ironsmiths, ashamed to be seen working at such lowly work, "fasten" on passersby with their buda eyes.

Perhaps at the basis of this syndrome lies the idea that a skilled craft, existing within the technologically primitive Amhara society, must be the result of association with evil forces
[[71]] of the supernatural. This has been the pattern regarding ironsmiths in parts of the Middle East, Africa and ancient Europe. Among the Amhara Copts of Abyssinia, the idea that these ironsmiths are also "deniers of Jesus Christ", yet have an "education" of their own, above the "pagans" makes them doubly dangerous. Added to this is a projection of their own pattern of fears and hates.

e. "Buda" doctors past and present

756 While the aforementioned dabtara is the most commonly
793 called doctor of buda disease, sometimes, especially in urban areas, the Coptic priest himself is called in.

563 178 643 797 Wherever Emperor Menelik II conquered new areas, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, he ordered the local people to build Abyssinian Coptic churches, and the Coptic priests who accompanied the troops with the sacred "tabot", consecrated the new local church and parish. These became centers of political and educational Amhara activities. Amharization was advanced not through large scale direct conversion of what was considered by the Amhara clergy a "lower" ethnic group, but through the establishment of a local, administrative, Amhara hierarchy, which the other ethnic peoples found it in their interest to emulate. They soon learned (particularly the old Galla nobility) that they could advance in the Amhara feudal-army system and regain feudal-land-tenure through loyal military service.

554 By assimilating to this Amhara pattern, young Galla of the old nobility or of the modern-educated élite have found that they can rise in the hierarchy, and, after conversion to the Coptic Abyssinian faith, even intermarry with the ruling class.

At the same time, ethnic particularism and tribal expression of the subject ethnic groups, including the large Galla population, have been consistently discouraged by the ruling Amhara. Even 797 foreign missionaries, who are still forbidden to convert Abyssinian Copts, but may work on Muslims, "pagans", etc, have been pressed into the work of Amharizing Ethiopia. For they must preach in the Amharic language, and can distribute Bibles only in the Amharic language, even in provinces where the vast majority still understands very little or no Amharic. If they break this law, missionairies can be promptly deported.

000 The present emperor, since his ascendency in 1917 and particu-

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

178 and signed modestly and anonymously "The Friends of Knowledge",
212 had been published under the auspices of the Ethiopian Ministry of Education. It had been authored by the Amhara (modern-minded) noble, Ras Imru (later ambassador to the USA), the Amhara historian-grammarian Blatta Marze Hazen, and a Western scholar affiliated with the American National Council of Churches of Christ.

The conflict arose largely from the fact that most Amharic letters are directly derived from the old Geez, considered sacred because church liturgy and literature are written in it. Therefore, the Abyssinian church rejected the idea of alphabet reform as sacrilegeous. The emperor decided to postpone action indefinitely. (footnote 139).

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563 It is this opposition, concentrated in the old Amhara nobility and clergy that has given opportunity to the loyal Galla to affiliate themselves more closely with the central government. Their modern-educated sons serve in high positions in the imperial bodyguard, army, and provincial administration. By affiliating themselves with the central government, the Galla obtain protection against the exploiting rural Amhara gentry. From the point of view of the modern central government such loyal support is greatly needed. From the point of view of the provincial, traditional Amhara, however, every young modern official sent from Addis Ababa, is now nicknamed "Galla", even if he is an Amhara.

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178 Meanwhile the new elite has itself developed an indirect means to introduce a new value complex, at least in Addis Ababa. This is called "seltanay", which formerly meant politeness, refined and re-

Footnote 139: Leslau, Wolf: La Réforme de l'Alphabet Éthiopien. (in) Rassegna di Studi Etiopici, vol.12,1953,pp.96-106. Rome.

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5

the triangle of mountains bounded on the north by the Dessie–Debra Tabor road; on the west by the canyon of the Blue Nile; on the east by the Strada Imperiale; and on the south by the Debra Markos–Addis Ababa road. Here Ras Kassa's Shoan fief of Salale adjoins his territories in Amhara Saint. Salale is a great grassy upland, in May already swept by rain storms for six or eight hours a day. The road to Addis Ababa passes through Ras Kassa's capital of Fiche, which has the usual character of Abyssinian country towns: an agglomeration of huts standing in rather dreary eucalyptus groves and dominated by a fort and the European villa of the Ras. Salale has the reputation of being the best horse-raising country in Abyssinia.

Fiche has a certain strategic importance in the feudal politics of Abyssinia since it lies across the main line of communication between the capital and Gojjam; and in the period of *coup d'états* in the '20s the lord of Salale was always in the position to intervene suddenly in the capital only 70 miles away.

Ras Kassa has always maintained his loyalty to the Makonnen house. He is a magnificent old veteran of war and politics, rugged and erect in spite of his advanced years. Ras Kassa's two elder sons, who had come in to discuss a truce with the Italians some months after the fall of Addis Ababa in 1936, were executed under circumstances of abominable treachery. Nevertheless the old Ras made himself responsible for the escort of the Agibar prisoners over about 150 miles of country without a single one of them coming to any harm.

I was fortunate in June and July in spending some time in Dessie and in making my way up to the Debra Tabor district where, in mid-July, the Italian garrison of some six thousand men surrendered. Dessie, which means "my joy" in Amharic, is an ideal base from which to study the incomparably beautiful country round. The former capital of Ras Michael, the Moslem father of the ex-Emperor Lij Iyasu, Dessie became the northern military headquarters of the Empire during the years preceding the Italian conquest. Dessie was favourably situated in relation to the Italian frontier in southern Eritrea, but it owed its strategic importance to the inner political situation. To the east and north-east along the line of the Eastern Escarpment overlooking the Danakil Depression and the Red Sea basin is the country of the turbulent Wagara Gallas who were, and who remain, a recurrent threat to internal security. The Wagara clans in fact lie athwart the main south–north route from Addis Ababa to Aduwa and the new and hardly less important motor road down the Escarpment and across the Danakil desert to Assab. During the years 1929–31, each autumn after the Great Rains, the Emperor had not less than thirty thousand men in the field engaged in more or less fruitless marches and counter-marches over the highlands of the Wagara country.

Scarcely less formidable were the great conservative lords of the north: Ras Gugsa of Makale, who afterwards went over to the Italians; Ras Seyum of Tigrai, ruling all the country between the upper Takkaze and the Eritrean border; and Ras Gugsa Wolye of Debra Tabor, an ex-husband of the Empress Zawditu, who himself had pretensions to the throne and the support of the powerful centre of the Coptic priesthood in Aduwa.

The last great feudal campaign in Ethiopia took place in 1931. The Im-

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5

perial Army, recruited largely from the non-Amharic southern region of Galla-Sidamo, advanced from Dessie and met the feudal levies of the pretender on the plateau of Debra Zebit. A great head-on encounter of over thirty thousand riflemen and spearmen took place along a front extending over 10 km. A lucky reconnaissance by the Emperor's two French Potez planes was probably the decisive episode in the battle. Somewhere in the mêlée Ras Gugsa Wolye was dragged from his mule and hacked to pieces. This last epic contest of feudal lords recalls one of the battles of the Wars of the Roses.

Dessie itself has something of the character of an alpine *Kurort*, and the Italians intended to develop it as such. When I was there the fairly numerous Italian colony was being removed to Asmara, and it was obvious that the town was gradually reverting to the untidy agglomeration of huts and shanties which is all the easy-going Ethiopian countryman requires in a town.

The surrounding grassy *alms* are the finest stock-raising country in Africa. Between the surrounding peaks of the uplands I have ridden for 3 or 4 miles over turf as flat as a race-course. I had the pleasant task of running a reception camp for surrendered Italian mules and ponies, and I was free to spend a good deal of time in the saddle under fresh wind-swept skies which recalled an English June.

The road from Dessie to Debra Tabor descends and ascends the canyon of the Bashilo and crosses the plateau of Debra Zebit. Magdala, the fortress capital of the Emperor Theodore, lies to the south-west, and the route from the Bashilo to Debra Zebit is the reverse of that taken by Napier in 1868, when he made his remarkable march up from the Red Sea. After Debra Zebit the route crosses the panhandle which forms the watershed between the Bashilo flowing to the Blue Nile and the northward-flowing Takkaze. Farther on towards Debra Tabor, with the incline down to the Lake Tana basin, the vegetation becomes richer. Snipe abound and are so tame that they could almost be killed with a stick.

In the mountains to the south-east of Debra Tabor is the curious anarchic community known as the Republic of Gaint, whose people claim to recognize no authority. The late Captain Pilkington and Captain McLean, who were organizing the tribes south and east of Lake Tana, managed to establish very friendly contact with the Gaint people.

Many hard things have been said about the Abyssinians. Some people have found it difficult to get on with them; but it is notable that foreigners who have spent some time with them are generally happy in their company. Under the name of Abyssinian, or of Ethiopian which they themselves prefer, are included people as varied as the Amhara and the Galla; the Hararene and the Tigraian; the Shoan and the Agau. It is worth giving an individual impression of these different groups.

The Amhara racial type includes both the Amhara and the Shoan, and, to a great extent also, the Gojjami. The Amhara are the dominant racial stock of the central Ethiopian Highland rather than the ruling caste of Ethiopia. There are plenty of poor Amhara villagers. The Amhara are described as of Hamitic origin; but from the earliest times there has been a strong infusion

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5
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irony. They are a happy people with a deep love of the natural world around them.

The Tigraians of the north are different. There is something hard and seasoned about a Tigraian which makes him easily distinguishable from an Amhara. The Tigraian is rather the yeoman type. The sharper drier climate of the borders of Eritrea gives him something which recalls a little the ruggedness and shrewdness of the Castilian. There is a determined look in the Tigraian eye which contrasts with the wild and passionate glance of the Amhara. The Amhara and the Tigraians, with the kin Hadendoa of Eritrea, represent varying degrees of mixing of the Hamitic and Semitic stocks.

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The Agau, on the other hand, are said to be the descendants of the pure Hamitic stock—believed to be aboriginal to the Ethiopian Highland. They may well be "the blameless Ethiopians" of the ancients. The judaised mountaineers of the Simen mountains speak an Agau dialect. There are islands of Agau in Gojjam, particularly along the line of the Western Escarpment. To the best of my knowledge these people together with the neighbouring negroid Gumuz of the Shankalla wilderness, another very primitive stock, have never been seriously studied. The language and customs of the Agau must be of considerable interest from the aspect of comparative linguistics and folklore.

The Agau villages through which we passed between the Escarpment and Njabara were miserably poor in the midst of an often fertile countryside: goitre, elephantiasis, and leprosy were rife. The people have long been a serf population under Amhara overlords; but in the tenth century they threw up the brilliant Zagwe dynasty which ruled Ethiopia for more than three centuries. The Zagwe episode in Ethiopian history seems to have represented some reaction of the older people of the Highland against the Amhara elements intruding from the north.

It may be of interest to refer here, in connection with the Agau, to the so-called Falashas or Black Jews. The main centre of the Falashas, who are Agau-speaking, has been in the Simen Mountains, but during the last century they have become scattered about all the north of the Ethiopian Highland. The religious practises of the Falashas are stated by people who have studied them to be those of the Jewish faith before the Babylonian captivity. The Falashas may therefore represent a remnant of a very old Jewish dispersion, or at least an early penetration of Jewish influences into the Ethiopian Highland.

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Again it has been pointed out by Luca di Sabelli, Conte Rossini, and others that the ritual of the Coptic Church in Ethiopia retains a number of practises which were a part of the Jewish religion before the Captivity.[1] These cultural remnants from the past have a bearing on the tenacious tradition in Ethiopia that the Royal House is descended from Menelik (=ibn el-Hakim="son of the doctor" or "the sage") who was reputed to be a natural son of Solomon and Balkis (Arab) or Makeda (Ethiopian) Queen of Sheba. If this legend is rationalized it may be postulated that folk traditions of early Jewish associations were given literary form, in the early centuries of the Christian era, by Coptic monks familiar with Old Testament history.

[1] Luca di Sabelli, 'Storia d'Abissinia,' vol. 1.

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5
Tulama MP25

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In terms of historical probability it should be emphasized that at many periods during the millennium before the Christian era Jewish influences waxed strong in the interior of Arabia and along the eastern coast of the Red Sea. There was regular intercourse between the two coasts of the Red Sea and the Aksumite kingdom on the borders of Eritrea, and the Ethiopian Highland emerged as a city-state similar in character to the city-states along the Arabian coast, and in culture more than half Semitic.

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To the north of the Syrian area the tradition of descent from the House of Solomon grew up in the royal houses of Armenia and Georgia, after the conversion of those two countries to the Christian faith. At the same time there were very ancient colonies of Jews in Georgia and Dagistan which may well have dated back to the period of the Babylonian conquest of Israel. A later spread of Jewish influences and even of Jewish elements which may be checked historically from the works of Arab geographers took place in the ninth century A.D. among the Khazars—a Turki people who had founded a state in the northern Caucasus and along the Volga.

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A similar spread of Jewish influences to the Ethiopian Highland in an earlier epoch is historically no more improbable and, in terms of geography, would have been a much easier process. The fact that the present-day Falashas are Agau-speaking indicates that the Jewish infiltration, if it took place, was at a period when Agau was generally spoken on the Ethiopian Highland.

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The Gallas.—The origin of the Gallas is another of the curious mysteries of African history and the Gallas themselves remain the most significant problem of the inner politics of Ethiopia. They first appeared in Ethiopia towards the end of the sixteenth century. The country had been depopulated by the long Somali wars and by the following conflict between Catholic and Coptic Orthodox arising out of the Portuguese intervention.

During the next two centuries the Gallas swarmed over all the countryside of Ethiopia. They settled in the region of the southern lakes, which at an earlier date had been colonized by the Ethiopian Kings. They reached the Escarpment overlooking the Awash valley and the neighbourhood of Harar on the borders of the Somali country. Like the Amhara they seemed to prefer the Highland and they spread over Shoa up to the canyon of the Blue Nile and north along the ridge of the Eastern Escarpment into Amhara.

In Shoa, the Imperial province of Ethiopia, people speaking Galla represent about half the population; and over Ethiopia as a whole they probably outnumber all the other racial groups.

In the eighteenth century Galla troops proved the decisive factor in the dynastic wars which covered the period of the final disintegration of the mediaeval Empire. Galla chieftains lorded it at the decadent court of Gondar; they made and unmade Emperors and married their daughters to them. But coming as invaders, the Gallas settled as peasants. In contrast with the indolent Amhara squireens, the Gallas are industrious farmers and labourers.

At the same time the Gallas had, and have, little political consciousness or racial coherence. When, in the course of the nineteenth century, Ethiopian

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5
Tulama MP25

imperial power revived, Emperors like Theodore and, later, Menelik, re-established Amhara rule first over the central highland and later over all the Galla lands of the south. The most formidable resistance encountered by Menelik was from the Moslem Galla Sultan of Jimma. From time to time certain Galla districts resented the corrupt or vicious government of individual Amhara officials and revolted; but these revolts were the common phenomenon of a feudal state of society rather than the beginnings of a conscious Galla movement against an alien Amhara rule. In fact in the Galla countries of the south the rule of the Amhara central government has proved more stable than in the north where it had to meet the challenge of powerful Amhara lords. During the dangerous revolt of Ras Gugsa Wolye it was probably the Galla contingents which saved the throne for Haile Selassie. During the campaign of 1941 thousands of Galla guerrillas took the field against the Italians, while the northern leaders, the great Amhara aristocrats, were inclined to wait on the winner.

Gallas are everywhere in Ethiopia and there are probably few Amhara nobles who have not a strong tinge of Galla blood in their veins. Most Amhara have some knowledge of Galla (although many will not own to it), and Galla is popularly supposed to be the "love language" of Ethiopia.

I had *little opportunity for investigating* the subject, but I do not believe that all Galla-speaking tribes are racially Galla. In the belt of savannah country between the Mussolini Pass and Dessie I met the two sons of a Wallo Galla headman who were a pair of the most beautiful human beings I have ever seen. Copper-skinned and lithe, clad in panther pelts and leaning on their spears, they seemed apparitions out of the Bronze Age. These boys were of pure Hamitic type, rather resembling some of the fine-featured Shluh of the Moroccan Atlas. Yet, in Harar, where I had to disband a battalion of Galla Patriots who had come in from the south, I found stocky square-headed men with heavy jowls, with a fair proportion of negroid types. Incidentally they were reported to show excellent form as soldiers. They were mostly Borana and other southern Gallas.

The variety of physical types among the Gallas adds to the mystery of their origin before the sixteenth century. Some tribes have the tradition of having arrived on the east coast of Africa from over the sea, and one theory postulates the coming of the Galla from Madagascar and attempts to correlate their migration with the intrusion of Malay elements into that island. At present the origin of the Gallas remains one of the most interesting problems of African history.

Harar itself has, since mediaeval times, enjoyed the situation of a city-state. The emirate of Harar was brought within the Ethiopian Empire only by Ras Makonnen, the father of the present Emperor. It has since remained a favourite city of the Imperial family and a stronghold of their interest. On the edge of the Somali and the Galla country and commanding the way down over the lip of the Southern Escarpment into the Awash valley Harar is a meeting place for all the tribes of Ethiopia and the Arabian coast. The old walled city with its narrow crowded streets and occasional mosques and *turbés* has all the characteristics of an Arabian town, as contrasted with the open settlements of huts, gardens, and plantations which pass for towns in

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5

Ethiopia. There is a special Hararene language of which an Italian society has published texts. It appears to be a corrupt mixture of Amharic and Arabic in the Amharic script. The women of Harar, in whom Somali and Galla blood predominates, are noted for their beauty. In contrast with the uniform white cotton skirts and innumerable petticoats and draperies of the frizzed Amhara ladies, the Hararenes wear a variety of bright colours and, although Moslem, they go with their faces unveiled and shoulders and bosoms exposed. Hair is worn flat in stylized curls. Their skins are often of a beautiful rose-bronze hue.

Harar is situated about 6000 feet above sea-level and its climate is one of the most equable in the world. The fertile red soil provides an abundance of the fruits of the earth and the gardens which slope down round the old walls of the city offer a variety of colour. Many pleasant hours can be spent wandering among them and talking to the cheerful friendly people. Harar is famous for its delicious coffee; and the donkeys of the district of Mount Condudò, which rises to 9000 feet some 20 miles to the east of Harar, are reputed to be the finest in Ethiopia. The jackasses of Condudo are much sought after for the procreation of mules, and the whole life of the Ethiopian Highland still depends on the mule.

The Ethiopian Highland lies in close proximity to two of the oldest routes along which have passed the commerce and the changing cultures of men: the Red Sea and the Nile. Yet the Ethiopian Highland and its peoples have remained remote. The same conditions of history apply to the Riffian Atlas overlooking the Straits into the Mediterranean and to the great Caucasian massif which flanks the ways round the Black Sea and across the Caspian.

The presence of varied racial elements in mountain areas has generally been explained as the remnants of former peoples who have been driven up into the hills as fugitives. This may be in part true. Yet I am inclined to believe that the mountains have been rather the human reservoirs from which successive floods of men have poured down, like the spring waters, into the neighbouring lowlands. There are many historical examples of this process. In Moorish history successive dynasties were recruited from the mountain Berbers and it was the Berbers who provided the man-power for the Moslem conquest of Spain. The function of the Albanians in repopulating a devastated Greece was remarked by the historian Finlay; and they have for centuries contributed numerous and warlike elements to the populations of the Near East. The same role was played by Caucasian mountaineers in both the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires, in Egypt, and in Persia. Mountain peoples generally breed in excess of the capacity of the terrain to support their offspring.

I submit, then, that the Ethiopian Highlands represented just such a reservoir of primitive human material—a reservoir which must have made an important contribution, in prehistoric times, to the peopling of the Nile basin. In fact the Ethiopian Highland and the Moroccan Atlas, with the intervening massifs which rise out of the Sahara, like Jebel Adrar, Tibesti, and Darfur, may well have been the primitive homeland of the Hamitic-

3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

175 on the sheet, or not far from it, have historical associations. Tegulet, a little to the north, was the home country of Yikuno Amlak, the Shoan prince in whose person the Solomonian line was restored to the throne of Ethiopia in the thirteenth century. Debra Berhan itself, now a rather sordid settlement on the Asmara road, is of ancient foundation, for the emperor Zar'a Yakob made it his capital in the fifteenth century. Although a somewhat cold and inhospitable place it has an obvious advantage as commanding what must always have been an important focus of routes. Even in modern times it was [491] inevitable that the Asmara road should be brought through this easy passage, avoiding the impassable gorges on the one hand and the much broken country of the higher plateau on the other.

349 Although there is no proof, and apparently no relevant tradition, I should be inclined to attribute to Zar'a Yakob some curious caves excavated in one end of a high hogsback 2 miles south-east of Debra Berhan. Unfortunately I inspected them only once and rather casually and found no opportunity to come again. There are at least two very elaborate excavations, besides some rougher ones, now partly inhabited. The two principal caves are very similar in lay-out. Entering by a roughly rounded lobby, one passes through a small hole in the rock, which admits scarcely any daylight, into the principal interior space. This is approximately circular and perhaps 25 feet in diameter. On the far side, opposite the entrance, it communicates with a smaller chamber semi-circular in form. From the main space a passage leads off, in the first cave to the right, in the second to the left; these receive no daylight at all. In the first cave the passage (which was half under water) turned twice to the right and was thus bent back on itself. It opened into several miniature cells, in shape an erect oval and only big enough for a man to stand in, each of which appeared to have opened through a small hole at the top into an upper space of some kind. The passage belonging to the second cave had basin-shaped excavations in its floor opening through small holes into spaces below. I therefore conjectured that I had here got into an upper passage such as apparently existed above the other system. Possibly these were underground chapels inspired by rock-excavated churches of the Lalibela school. As to the passages and the small spaces leading off them, with what seemed to be their ventilating arrangements, they might have been stores of some kind, or burial chambers, or special places of devotion, or hermits' cells—but these are speculations. If the mud which chokes these caves were removed something definite might be found out about them. They found a use quite recently, for at the time of the Italian invasion *tabots* and other church valuables were said to have been hidden in them.

178 In the first half of the sixteenth century the Shoan plateau, in common with a large part of Ethiopia, was occupied by Galla tribes invading from the 563 south. These Gallas were essentially horsemen and herdsmen, and it seems that, while they occupied the entire plateau, they did not seriously attempt to penetrate the gorges, into which even a mule descends with difficulty. I believe that the Amhara population became forcibly concentrated in the upper reaches of the gorges at this time, and that the dense population which resulted explains the extraordinary number of churches which came to be built there. Even to-day the greater part of the plateau between Addis

3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

Ababa and Debra Berhan remains Galla country. The Amharas have re-occupied the region immediately around Debra Berhan, their southern limit corresponding roughly with the edge of the sheet; but the churches built to meet their needs (including the new St. Gabriel already once mentioned) are comparatively few and far between, a confirmation of the recent date of the re-colonization.

The Gallas remained in possession of the plateau country until the early nineteenth century when Sahele Selassie, king of Shoa, began to push them back. The half-dozen hill-top forts shown on the sheet almost certainly date from this time, or were reoccupied then. The capital of Shoa since the eighteenth century had been Ankober, on the edge of the great eastern escarpment, some 20 miles east of Debra Berhan. But Sahele Selassie, as part of his anti-Galla campaign founded, in about 1830, a new capital at Angolala in the midst of Galla country. He thereafter divided his time between Angolala and Ankober. A largely disused track, still well-defined in most parts, is shown crossing the sheet from Angolala in an easterly direction; this was evidently an old route joining the two capitals. Harris,[1] who conducted a British Mission to Sahele Selassie in 1841–42, visited Angolala which then contained four or five hundred huts. He also describes Sahele Selassie's two-storied "palace," built by an Albanian [2] visitor, standing on an eminence—which however the king would not inhabit, from fear of earthquakes. Angolala continued to be used by Sahele Selassie's son, king Haile Malakot, and the great Menelik, who was Haile Malakot's son, had been born here in 1843—just after the time of Harris's visit.

Not much remains now to show that Angolala was so recently the twin capital of Shoa; but the site of Sahele Salassie's house, an artificial mound crowning the ridge, is easily identified and commands a fine view of the countryside. Inside the mound is a vaulted cellar, its masonry showing clear signs of European workmanship, as also does the central stone-built element of the local church of Kidane Meheret. This work is now exposed to view as the church was burnt down during the Italian occupation. Angolala remains a well-populated area, but only a very few huts now stand among the remains of defensive walls near the old royal residence.

The young Menelik, up to the age of twelve, must have known all this country well. But at that time (1855) the newly crowned emperor Theodore, whose ambition was the unification of Ethiopia after a century and a half of anarchy and internal strife, came down from the north with the object of subjecting Shoa to his personal rule. He defeated king Haile Malakot on the plains of Atakilt, the irrigated area just south-east of Debra Berhan. Haile Malakot died immediately after the battle, and Menelik was carried away captive by Theodore—who, however, afterwards treated him as a son rather than a prisoner. For some years Menelik followed in the emperor's train, moving with him from Gondar to Debra Tabor and then to the hill-fortress of Magdala, Theodore's last capital and later the scene of his undoing. Several years before Napier's siege of 1868 Menelik had escaped from Magdala during, it is said, one of Theodore's periodic orgies. A youth in

[1] Harris, 'The Highlands of Aethiopia,' London, 1844.

[2] It is much more likely that Harris meant an Armenian.

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

each of the years that I came there they gave me two quarters of the fattest cow that was killed. This flesh is distributed amongst the people who come to the Castar, and the friars have none because they do not eat meat. And these cows are all brought as offerings by their breeders in the district, who vow them to Philip. This monastery, and the others that are subject to it, have this rule in addition, that no females enter them, that is to say, neither women, nor she-mules, nor cows, nor hens, nor anything else that is female. And these cows which they kill are killed a long way from the wall, and when I came there they came to the distance of a cross-bow shot to take my mule, and they took her away to their farm of Jamgargara, where Mattheus died.

CAP. XV.—*Of the agriculture of this country, and how they preserve themselves from the wild beasts, and of the revenues of the monastery.*

The friars of this monastery, and of the other monasteries subject to it, might do good works by planting trees and vines, and making gardens and orchards for their exercise; and they do nothing. The country is ready to produce everything, as is seen from that which is uncultivated: they do not plant or grow anything except millet and bee-hives. When it is night, neither they nor anybody else go out from their houses from fear of the wild beasts that are in the country, and those who watch the millet have very high resting places upon the trees, in which they sleep at night. In the district of this monastery there are, in the valleys between the mountains, very large herds of cows, kept by Arab Moors, and there go with each herd forty or fifty Moors, with their wives and children: and their headman is

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

231 a Christian, because the cows that they keep belong to
563 Christian gentlemen of the country of the Barnagais. These Moors have nothing else for their labour than the milk and butter which they get from the cows, and with this they maintain themselves and their wives and children. On some occasions it happened to us to sleep near these Arabs, they accosted us to ask if we wished to buy cows, and for the price allowed us to choose them. They say that these
[484] Moors, and headmen who go with them, are all robbers under the favour of the lords to whom the cows belong, and so only large caravans travel. The revenues of this
792 monastery are very large; those which I saw and heard of
631 are, chiefly, this mountain in which the monastery is situated,
361 of an extent of ten leagues, in which they sow much millet,
[243] barley, rye, and all these pay dues to the monastery, and they are also paid on the herds. On the skirts of this mountain there are many large villages, and most of them belong to the monastery, and at a distance of one or two days' journey an infinite number of places belonging to the monastery, and are called *Gultus* of the monastery, which means *coutos* or *celeiros*,[1] according to our Portugal. Don Rodrigro the ambassador and I were going on the road to the Court, a good five days' journey from this monastery, and arriving at a town which is named *Caina* we kept Saturday and Sunday in a small village which might contain twenty people, and they told us they belonged to the monastery of Bisan. Besides that town there were a hundred villages all belonging to the monastery, and that in which we halted was one of them. We were also shown
651 many of the others, and they told us that every three years
631 they paid a horse to the monastery, and that each village
792 did this, which makes thirty-three horses every year. And in order to be certain of this I went to ask it of the *Alicazi* of the monastery, which means the auditor or major-domo,

[1] *Couto*, an asylum, an enclosure; *celeiro*, a granary.

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

643 735 There are many royal farms belonging to the Prester, in which a great quantity of bread is gathered, which is given to honourable persons, and the poor, and to poor monasteries and churches, without Prester John making any profit of the produce and revenue of these farms, but only alms.

241 In all the country there is much bread, wheat and barley; in other lands there is more millet than wheat or barley, in these, and where wheat and barley, there is much taff and dagusha (seeds not known to us), pulse, beans, pease, and all vegetables; and in other lands all sorts of grain and vegetables in great quantity and abundance. There are 312 many water springs, but no fountains made of stone. In the town of Aquaxumo, where the Queens Saba and Candacia were, there are many wells and tanks made with good masonry.

532 In the town of Aquaxumo there are images very well made, and figures of lions and dogs, and oxen, and other antiquities made of stone. In this town Queen Candacia became a Christian by the advice of her eunuch, whom St. Philip baptized by inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

491 In all this country there is no bridge of stone or of wood; ● [563] in no part of the kingdoms or lordships of Prester John are there Jews. There are infinite quantities of sugar canes, 137 and they do not know how to make it; grapes and peaches are ripe in the month of February and end in April: there are many oranges, lemons and citrons, and few pot herbs, because they do not plant them.

136 Animals, namely lions, ounces, tigers, wolves, deer, antas,[1] wild cows, foxes, lynxes,[2] wild boars, porcupines, civet cats, roedeer, gazelles, elephants, and other animals not known to us, of which the country is full, except two which I never saw there, namely bears and rabbits.

Birds, partridges of three kinds, like ours, other fowls

[1] *Anta* is a South American animal. [2] Probably hyænas.

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
MP5 Amhara MP5

101 and these Toluma come down to the Nile, and divide Walaka and Shoa from the Nile.

651 Agow-midre pays yearly to the king in all about 1000 ounces of gold; and 1000 dabras of honey, each dabra about 60 rotol. It pays also about 1000 or 1500 cattle. Ancasha, Azena, Quaquera, and Banja, pay their quota in honey; Banja, gold; Metchakel, Ayamico's country, gold; Zigam, gold, no honey. Danguiah, Dengla, and Saccala, all are called Ancasha. Dengla pays chiefly cattle, and a large kind of sheep called Macoot. Butter is no part of the meery, but is brought as a present on paying the meery. After passing the Kelti, on the right, by the Bronti, is Atchefer, after that Quaquera, then Dengla, then Banja, then Metchakel. Tembua belongs to the Ras, and the revenue is paid to him. The first heavy stroke the Agow received of late years was Waragna, father of this Fasil, bringing Galla from beyond the Abay, and wasting their country entirely. He burnt the houses and churches, and led away captive the women and children. Under the mild government of Casmati Eshte they began to revive, but now again under Fasil they are very low.

361 Metchakel is one long day's journey, I suppose 36 miles, from Boori (Bure); it is inhabited by Galla Djawi. After these are the Basso Gallo; and the Gooderoo Galla of Kasmati Boro. His place is called Hadis Amba. These border on Gojam, Damot, and Metchakel. Gafat is not one continued country, but villages here and there. Wumbarma is Gafat. Metchakel is, however, a much more considerable country. Beyond the Nile, west of Bure, the country for a considerable distance is dry, deserted, and uninhabited, the Galla living further into the territory. All the banks are there high, steep, and unwholesome, and full of trees. These Galla are Amoro Jidda. Guesgue belongs to the Iteghe, has a nagareet, and gives the title of Kasmati. It pays 1000 cloths, 50 oxen, and 100 wakeet.

The caravans of Egypt used to go from Aidab, or Gaidab, to Dahalac, in their way to Yemen, or Jidda, the port of Mecca. Souakin is seven days south of Gaidab.

101 The Galla, west of the Abay, say, that they are descended
● 563 of a Gin or devil, and a woman of the tribe of Koreish. They are always at war with the Nareans, Abyssinians, or

[p. 58]

5: Bruce T-5 (1768-1773) 1804
MP5 Amhara MP5

Mahometans. They reckon about 12,000 horse of Galla between the Nile and Narea. The tribes go every seventh year to the reigning house, where the council debates on the duties of government. The points agitated are, how our fathers governed, what measures are to be taken with murderers and robbers on the high-ways, how merchants are to be dealt with, &c. The young then declaim in favour of violence and injustice; after which the elders, five in number, are asked. These decide in favour of equity. The king is afterwards chosen by a plurality of voices.

Waragna, father of Fasil, was converted to Christianity. His father was Wusho (signifying a dog), of the western Galla, of the tribe Jimmali. He was a merchant; but being remarked to be brave in a battle Bacuffa had with these Galla, he was invested with the caftan, and made commander of several places on the frontiers of Damot.

The Djawi Galla of Damot, Gafat, and Metchakel, as also the Galla of Maitsha, came there, in the time of Yasous Tallac. The Basso, and other Galla of Gojam, were brought there by Hatze Fasil; others say his son Hannes.

Maitsha, from the place the Abay comes out of the lake to Courtohha, is 1½ day's march, at a moderate pace, 6 hours a day; from Courtohha, the hither part, to Samseen, one long day's journey; and from the same part to the Abay at Goutta, a very long day's journey, at a brisk pace.

The Shankala entrench their huts against surprise, and burn large fires. They wear a long shield, covering nearly the whole side, and five lances each, which they throw or stab with as needed. Bows and arrows are their chief weapons. They dig up gold among reddish earth, which they burn in the fire, and gather it as it runs out in small pieces like shot. They put it next in to a small purse, or other sort of bag. Every individual is free to search for it. They are flat-nosed and flat-lipped, very black, best shaped in the upper parts, but with bad knees and legs.

The Bure way to Narea is W. in the country south by Amoro. The nearest way is by Gojam and Gooderoo, performed in 30 days with loaden asses, about eight or nine miles a-day.

Harar is a very large town, has five gates, and is constantly at war with Habbesh, or the Galla. The ridge of hills

[p. 59]

7: Perham S-4 (no date)1948
MP5 Amhara MP5

many of the smaller units retained, like them, much of their old historical and cultural identity.

The provinces do not fall very easily into administrative categories. The deepest distinction is that which has just been mentioned between the dominant Christian provinces of the old Ethiopia and those of the south which were, in the main, conquered by the Shoan dynasty during the second half of the last century. The dividing line runs approximately along the Blue Nile and across the middle of the modern Shoa, a little to the north of the capital. The region around the capital, though it lay just south of this line, may be regarded as having, since the reign of Sahla Selassié (1813), been progressively assimilated to Amharic society. In the vast area north of the line, below the structure of imperial power and that of the dominating and shifting ruling families there lay, still largely intact, the variegated social design of the Tigré and Amhara groups, closely interwoven with that of the ancient church and sanctioned by long custom. South of this line were Muslim and pagan people, many newly conquered, some of them partially disintegrated and dispossessed by their conquest, and all subject to a far more direct rule under the Shoan Emperor and his agents than was possible in the north. In both groups of provinces there were exceptional areas such as those of the northern Gallas, but it will be more convenient to give the Gallas a chapter to themselves as part of the south. The non-Galla southern provinces must be sub-divided into three groups, the Sidamo Hamites, the negro, and those Danakil and Somali regions, where the semi-desert nature of the country and the nomadic life of the tribes frustrated effective control by the Amharas. The northern provinces are sufficiently homogeneous for us to consider them, in very general terms, as a whole. A discussion of the administration of the provinces must be preceded by an attempt to assess the numbers and distribution of the people.

The main facts of the ethnology of the region have appeared in their place in the historical introduction, but it may be useful to bring together here some of these scattered facts. We saw that a mainly Hamitic (or Cushitic) population, with negro fringes and pockets, was dominated in successive southward moving stages by those northern groups which had been mastered and stimulated by Semitic emigrants from Arabia, and how this mixed Semitic-Hamitic people had gradually spread its domination over the northern half of the present boundaries to make the Ethiopian state and nation. It has been recounted how Christianity came in the fourth century and how the great movement of Galla peoples from the east and south-east, aided by the Muslim invasions of the sixteenth century, flooded into large areas of Ethiopia.

7: Perham S-4 (no date)1948
MP5 Amhara MP5

THE GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA

175 In the nineteenth century, as will be recounted in some detail in the
● 563 chapter on the southern provinces, the Ethiopians, and especially the Shoans, struck back and overran an immense area inhabited by Gallas, Somalis, non-Semiticized Hamites, and negroes in the south.

THE POPULATION

162 No census has ever been taken in Ethiopia and we cannot, therefore, know either the total of population within her boundaries or how to allocate the numbers to the several races, religions, and regions. All estimates are therefore nothing better than more or less informed guesses. To show the divergences in these guesses, a well-informed British consul writing in 1932 gave 5,500,000 as his figure,[1] whereas, since the liberation, a semi-official Ethiopian journal claims 12,000,000 to 13,000,000. A recent official statement by the ecclesiastical authorities claims 10,000,000 Ethiopian Christians.[2]

Special attention must be paid to the estimates of the Italians. As neighbours, adversaries and, for a short time, rulers of Ethiopia, they have had more reason and opportunity than other people to attempt such calculations.

The following estimates, obviously in very round numbers, are the official Italian figures. They cover the whole of Italian East Africa and it will therefore be necessary to consult Map 2 at the end of the book in order to see the relationship of this area with Ethiopia proper.

Province.	Population
Shoa	500,000
Eritrea	1,000,000
Amhara	1,000,000
Harar	1,600,000
Galla-Sidamo	1,600,000
Somalia	1,300,000
	7,000,000[3]

The following figures for the same area, published in the *Guida* of 1938, give the racial distribution.

[1] Makereth, p. 5.
[2] *Herald*, 1 July 1946.
[3] *Annuario dell'Africa Orientale Italiana*, Rome, 1938–9, p. 597.

THE PROVINCES: GENERAL

	Population
Abyssinians (including Agau and Beja)	2,400,000
Gallas	2,350,000
Somalis	1,400,000
Sidamo groups	1,400,000
Afar-Saho (of Danakil districts)	150,000
Negroes	1,000,000
Asiatics and Europeans	100,000[1]
	7,600,000

From both these sets of figures the relatively accurate figures for Eritrea of 757,000,[2] and for Italian Somaliland of 1,000,000,[3] may be deducted, leaving a total for Ethiopia proper of 5,243,000 according to the *Annuario* and 5,843,000 according to the *Guida*.

The British Military Administration in Ethiopia gave the number of 7,000,000 for the total population but did not say upon what calculations this figure was based.[4]

Zoli gives the following classifications for language and race for Ethiopia alone.

Language		Race	
Amhara	1,900,000	Abyssinian	2,100,000
Tigré	400,000	Galla	2,350,000
Oromo (Galla)	2,000,000	Somali	450,000
Somali	450,000	Sidamo	200,000
Sidamo	200,000	Afar	50,000
Afar (Danakil)	50,000	Negro	850,000
Miscellaneous	1,000,000		
	6,000,000		6,000,000[5]

One point of interest in comparing these latter is that they give an estimate—a highly speculative one—of the degree to which the Gallas have become assimilated to the Amharic culture as shown by their adoption of this language. We may note that Zoli estimates that forty different languages are spoken in Ethiopia, but most of these belong to very small groups in the south-west.

[1] *Guida*, p. 400.
[2] Longrigg, *op. cit.*, Appendix C.
[3] This estimate was taken from *Whitaker*.
[4] Cmd. 6589/1945.
[5] Zoli, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.

7: Perham S-4 (no date)1948
MP5 Amhara MP5

162 to very small groups in the south-west. His figures for the religions of the country have already been given.[1]

A very rough regional distribution by another Italian writer is as follows:

The original Ethiopian provinces	2,500,000–2,800,000
Galla and Sidamo areas	1,500,000–2,000,000
Harar	1,000,000
Somaliland	300,000
Danakil region	50,000
The non-Amharic north-west	100,000
The south-west (negroid regions)	600,000

This gives us a total of between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000.[2] But Almagia, like other authorities, offers this estimate in very tentative terms.

Finally, we may give de Castro's estimate of racial percentages.

●[563]

Ethiopians	32·6
Gallas	42·7
Sidamo and Arab-crossed people of the south-western highlands	10·1
Somalis	6·0
Negroid and Nilotic negroes	6·6
Danakil groups	2·0
	100·0[3]

Three main points arise from a study of these various estimates.

One is that the Italian figures for the total population are very much lower than those recently mentioned by Ethiopians. An application made by the writer for the official Ethiopian figure produced a negative reply. This demographic difficulty may be one, among others, which has held up the publication of a long-promised official handbook for Ethiopia.

A second interesting feature of the estimates is that the true Ethiopian stock is almost certainly in a minority and that it is most likely to strengthen its position further, at least as the first stage, by continuing the assimilation of the Gallas which has already begun.

Thirdly, the figures repeat the impression given by the Geographical Survey of the concentration of the population upon the highlands, and the numerical insignificance of the groups inhabiting the low-lying regions of the east and south-east.

[1] See above, p. 103. [2] Almagia, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–7.
[3] de Castro, *L'Etiopia*, p. 301.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

Perhaps this sort of disposition was not unrelated to the part Manz played in sparking the restoration of Amhara rule in Shoa, thereby preparing the way for the dramatic resurgence and expansion of the Ethiopian state at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Gondarē Ethos

The unique character of Gondar derives first of all from the fact that it was a city. During the whole period of Ethiopian history reviewed in this chapter, the Gondar period was the only time in which the emperors resided in a fixed capital, and Gondar was the only permanent population center that grew beyond the contours of a large village. As in ancient Egypt before the rise of Thebes, the concept of the city had played scarcely any role in the political thinking of the Amhara, and so anomalous was the rise of Gondar that Ludolphus, writing in the fifth decade after the founding of Gondar, could not believe stories that Gondar was a large city and predicted that "perhaps in a few years there will be nothing to be seen of it."[38]

Like many oriental cities, Gondar consisted more of a collection of small homogeneous societies than of a diffused heterogeneous urban population. The city was divided into several quarters, each of which lived its own life. The imperial compound was of course foremost of these. It contained the great complex of buildings erected during more than a hundred years, from Fāsil to Iyāsu II, and was the seat of affairs of state. The compound was separated from the rest of the city by a stone wall, whose twelve well-guarded gates each served a special function or class of people.[39]

The nobility resided in a quarter known as Gaing Bēt. Here the dwellings were spaced at comfortable distances, and nearly every house was surrounded by a garden. Abyssinians of lower rank lived in the more densely populated sections of Faras Bēt and Denkākē.

The Christian hierarchy had its own quarters. The *abuna,* an Egyptian monk appointed by the Coptic Patriarch at Alexandria as spiritual head of the Ethiopian Church, lived with his retinue in one sector.[40] Another area, Eçhagē Bēt, was reserved for the Amhara monk who served as administrative head of the Church. Each church compound, moreover, was the focus of another residential section, where its clergy kept their modest huts. The Eçhage Bēt and the church compounds were considered sanctuaries and thus, in theory at least, were secure from plunderers. The Gondarēs and wealthy people from the country used these areas as a safety vault for their valuables.

The ethnic groups which settled in Gondar had their respective ghettos. The Muslims lived in the lower part of the city adjacent to the river Qīha, which was convenient for their ritual ablutions. They were looked down on by the Christians, and meat slaughtered by one group would not be touched by the other. Poncet observed that when an Abyssinian met a Muslim in the

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

streets, "he salutes him with his left hand, which is a mark of contempt."[41] The Falasha, potters and metalsmiths of Judaic faith, were similarly segregated, and plied their arts and crafts in another quarter.

Though many different peoples came together in Gondar, and though it was a meeting-point of trade routes from the Sudan, the Red Sea ports, and the African interior, Gondar's cultural role was not primarily that of a melting pot of diverse traditions. It served rather as an agent for the quickened development of the Amhara's own culture.[42] And thus it became a focus of national pride. The countryfolk looked on Gondar not as a hotbed of alien custom and immorality, as they often regard Addis Ababa today, but as the most perfect and advanced embodiment of their own traditional values.

The Gondarē himself, as denizen of this second Jerusalem, was prouder still. A snobbish pride became one of the conspicuous marks of Gondarē character. This pride is manifest in many ways. On the one hand, it appears as incorrigible vanity. Hence arise the many caricatures of the Gondarē—as one who goes hungry in order to purchase fine clothes in which to strut about, or as one who satisfied his hunger at home before going out in order not to appear needy at his host's table. (Perhaps the most famous of the stories about the Gondarē is the one about the man who spent the night naked and shivering because, for form's sake, he hung up his only garment as a curtain about himself.) On the other hand, Gondarē pride appears as the immense dignity with which the Gondarē carries himself, his sensitivity to the nuances of personal relations, his choice use of the Amharic language, his noble bearing. If there is a polarity in Gondarē life comparable to the Manzē polarity of bravery versus aggression, it is pride versus vanity.

Gondar's role as political and cultural capital of the nation for so long produced two other distinctive aspects of the Gondarē ethos. One is the love of *shumat,* or political appointments. Despite the unfortunate denouement of the Gondar monarchy, Gondar's importance as chief administrative center for such a long period had a deep influence on the ways of the people. "Give the Gondarē any office whatsoever," it is said, "and no matter what the salary, he will be happy."

The Gondarē's love of *shumat* is expressed in two phenomena which contrast strikingly with their Manzē counterparts. In the naming of children, the Gondarē prefers names which express an ambition for political honors, such as *Makonnen,* meaning "nobleman," and *Negusē* ("my king"). Furthermore, litigation in Gondar is characteristically concerned with disputes regarding *mādariyā,* land which has been given as an award for service to the government, as well as with disputes over *rĭst.*

The other prominent aspect of Gondar's ethos relates to its position as the center of Ethiopia's Christian literati. The fact that it was the ecclesiastical capital of the country is not the most important consideration here. Of course,

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[243] Preferred cereals cannot be grown here, instead sorghum, finger millet, and white tef (Eragrostis teff; an indigenous, [635] tiny-grained cereal) are produced. Moreover, the civil administration of the kola is less effective than in the highlands. Of the three zones, kola is the most sparse- [162] ly populated, and the only one to contain a substantial [563] indigenous non-Hamitic population. These are a Nilotic [567] people, horticulturalists living on the province's western periphery. Highlanders refer to them by a putative tribal nomer, "Shankella", and, until recent times, obtained their domestic slaves from this population. Even now, Nilotes living in the highlands are popularly known as bariya, "slave".

Weyna dega lands are located between 1800 and 3000 [136] meters. This is parkland beyond the range of the ano- [243] pheles mosquito, and ideal for growing preferred cereals, [231] wheat and red teff. Here, as in the other zones, agriculture is complemented by the raising of sheep, goats, and chickens for food; cattle for meat, milk, and plowing; donkeys to carry burdens across the broken plateau lands; and horses and mules as mounts.

Dega lands are the sections of the plateau which [243] extend beyond the 3000 meter mark. In their lower reaches, wheat and red teff are grown, but at higher altitudes [233] barley is the dominant cereal. The lands above 4000 meters cannot be cultivated, although some are used for grazing.

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

162 632 433 463 of the town's total population, support themselves by working among the densely packed rows of beer houses and mead halls which are found along the approaches to, and in the vicinity of, the arada, the weekly market area. A portion of these women alternate periods of beer selling with work as servants in Amhara households.

632 779 563 [197] [167] [142] Gondar's Muslims include both Abyssinians (pejoratively, "Jabartiy", "half-caste") and Arabs. While the former are mono-lingual Amharic speakers and physically indistinguishable from Amhara, the latter are distinctively dressed, bilingual in Amharic and Arabic, often light-skinned, and either immigrants from South Arabia or the descendants of immigrants and their Abyssinian wives. [443] [442] Arab men are the town's most affluent merchants (who often make a weekly circuit of provincial markets with their goods), shop-keepers, and wholesalers. Arab women are secluded at home. In the main, Gondar's Muslims are residentially nucleated in Addis Allem, a settlement on the town's southern perimeter and contiguous to the arada.

632 563 463 [197] [562] A substantial number of Tigrinya-speaking people, predominantly Eritrean, live in Gondar. The men are employed mainly as artisans (carpenters, masons, sandal makers, tailors, tinkers), laborers, and ecclesiastics. Because of their relative sophistication, Eritrean women are popular servants for affluent townsmen, and as

632
563 bar maids.
[463]
[562] A third, numerically significant minority have come from the provinces of Wollo to the east, and from Shoa and those areas still farther south. Local Amhara classify them together pejoratively as "Galla"[18], even [144] though many are in fact true Amhara. Although these "Galla" vary as to physical type, most are indistinguishable from local Amhara, and only a minority are markedly [779] negroid. Most are Copts or Muslims, although a few are [647] non-Coptic Christians. Most of the men are government employees, generally members of the provincial gendarmerie, which is headquartered in Gondar.

Three additional, numerically small, populations [562] also reside in Gondar. The Agaw are represented mainly [464] by girls and women working as servants for the less affluent townsfolk, and as beer sellers. Of the Nilotes [192] living here, the women work as servants for poor townsfolk, and both sexes haul wood from distant areas for [326] sale in the town's daily wood market (sir gabiya). The very few Falasha in Gondar are iron-mongers.

632
621 Ward and Town. Gondar's residents divide the town

[18] The predominant ethnic group of southern Ethiopia, and, to Gondari Amhara, half-pagan and negroid ("bariya").

*793 621 869 241 as a means for dicusing and strengthening a risteña family's economic and social interests within the parish. There are two conspicuous exceptions. Should a boy bear [732] a physical disability so severe that he will be unable to perform the basic subsistence activities of Amhara men, particularly plowing, he may be enrolled in the parish school as a prelude to a non-agricultural career beyond his natal parish. The alternatives are few. [463] work as an artisan is appropriate for Muslim and Falasha, [441] but shameful for an Amhara; while employment as a mer- • [563] chant is less objectionable, the peasant is generally without the necessary skills, contacts, and capital; military service is beyond his abilities; thus, only the Church and government remain. Regarding the Church, the priesthood is closed to him, since a priest must be physically whole, and capable of standing unassisted during [647] the performance of the Mass. The remaining ecclesiastical and government career choices assume that a boy will achieve literacy at the parish school and subsequently *793 depart from his natal community. The second exception 621 to the local focus of the parish school, is the small 869 number of boys who are offspring of debtera-teachers ser- 593 ving in parish churches. The ties of these men to their parishes-of-residence are usually only professional, and they are rarely risteñas, it is moreover their professional ethos which influences them to seek an extensive